THE Freeman

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

DECEMBER 1967

The Bankruptcy of "Liberalism"	*Clarence B. Carson*	707
The Curse and Cure of Covetousness	*Leonard E. Read*	716
Individual Liberty and "The Humanities"	*George B. de Huszar*	719
The University and Secondary Education	*John O. Nelson*	724
Some Reflections on Education	*W. A. Paton*	732
My Freedom Depends on Yours	*Dean Russell*	738
A Tale of Two Words	*Dean Lipton*	752
Books:		
The Third World War	*John Chamberlain*	757
Index for 1967		761

THE FOUNDATION
FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.
Irvington-on-Hudson, New York 10533

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Higher Earnings on your SAVINGS

You earn

5.13%

at our current rate of

5.00%

if account held 1 year.

.25% **BONUS AVAILABLE**

ASSETS OVER $700,000,000

SAFETY
More than **$250,000,000** in accounts over $10,000 each.

AVAILABILITY
High **14%** liquidity ratio assures that your funds are available whenever needed.

SAVE BY MAIL
We process promptly and pay air mail postage both ways.

FEDERAL SAVINGS AND LOAN INSURANCE CORPORATION — INSURED — TO $20,000

JOE CRAIL, PRESIDENT

COAST FEDERAL SAVINGS

AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

To: Robert Weston, Coast Federal Savings & Loan Assn., 9th & Hill, Los Angeles, Calif. 90014

☐ Please open a savings account. Enclosed is my check in amount of $_____.
☐ Individual Account ☐ Joint Account ☐ Here is my passbook. Transfer my account.

Name(s) _____

_____

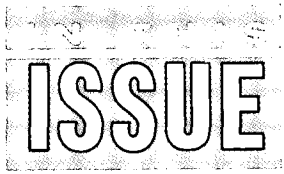
Address _____

_____ Zip _____

7-120A-2 F-12-67

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FREEMAN DECEMBER 1967
Vol. 17, No. 12



It is not sufficient that the promises of collectivism are recognized as false, says Professor Carson; the culprits must be called to account and their bankruptcy fully registered ..... p. 707

The best cure against coveting the property of others, advises Leonard Read, is to see and count one's own blessings ..... p. 716

George de Huszar turns to the humanities for a broadening of the case for liberty beyond the strictly economic appeal ..... p. 719

John Nelson, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Colorado, would remove the coercion from university and secondary education in order to upgrade the quality . p. 724

And in the same let's-be-practical vein, America's master accountant and economist, W. A. Paton, calls for a careful balancing of the cultural and the vocational ..... p. 732

Nonmolestation is perhaps the key word in Dean Russell's explanation of our interdependence and freedom ..... p. 738

Dean Lipton isn't a dean either, but he pins down a couple of troublesome words — **rights** and **equality** — which are frequently misused. p. 752

John Chamberlain's book of the month is **The War We Are In: The Last Decade and the Next** by James Burnham ..... p. 757

Sorry, that's all for this year, and all neatly indexed by Miss Bien of FEE ..... p. 761

Anyone wishing to communicate with authors may send first-class mail in care of THE FREEMAN for forwarding.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Freeman

DECEMBER 1967 Vol. 17, No. 12

LEONARD E. READ *President,* Foundation for Economic Education

PAUL L. POIROT *Managing Editor*

THE FREEMAN is published monthly by the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., a nonpolitical, nonprofit educational champion of private property, the free market, the profit and loss system, and limited government, founded in 1946, with offices at Irvington-on-Hudson, New York. Tel.: (914) 591-7230.

Any interested person may receive its publications for the asking. The costs of Foundation projects and services, including THE FREEMAN, are met through voluntary donations. Total expenses average $12.00 a year per person on the mailing list. Donations are invited in any amount—$5.00 to $10,000—as the means of maintaining and extending the Foundation's work.

Copyright, 1967, The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc. Printed in U.S.A. Additional copies, postpaid, to one address: Single copy, 50 cents; 3 for $1.00; 10 for $2.50; 25 or more, 20 cents each.

Any current article will be supplied in reprint form upon sufficient demand to cover printing costs. Permission is hereby granted to reprint any article from this issue, providing customary credit is given.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BANKRUPTCY OF "LIBERALISM"

CLARENCE B. CARSON

A CLEVER man can survive and even appear to prosper for awhile on very limited resources. He can live on borrowed money, shifting from creditor to creditor as bills come due, going ever deeper into debt. Promises flow from him, and plans for recouping his fortunes and producing great wealth. Many will extend credit to him, for he puts up a good front, weaves fascinating justifications for his failures, and paints seductive word-pictures of his prospects. There comes a time, however, in the affairs of the cleverest of such men when their confidence game no longer works its magic. A "credibility gap" appears; the promises, instead of attracting further credit, have all become notes falling due. Notes are presented for payment; credit is not extended; the debts cannot be paid. When that happens, a man is bankrupt. Any resources he has are taken from him to satisfy, as far as they will, the claims of his creditors.

There is every reason to believe that Americans, as creditors, have been seduced for many years by the promises of men with few resources but quick wits, ready justifications of failures, and prolific promises of future returns from their policies. These people go by the name of "liberals." The estate in which they reside—their fund of ideas—they call "liberalism." They have claimed the title to this estate for so long that most Americans believe them. There is little

Dr. Carson is Professor of American History at Grove City College, Pennsylvania.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

point here in disputing their claim, though their fund of ideas might better be called by such names as utopianism, collectivism, reformism, meliorism, or even socialism. What matters is that we all recognize the subject of discussion. For this purpose, let them have the title they want: Liberalism.

At any rate, they have promised freely a great variety of blessings that would befall the American people if we would give them credit, and then extend it, and extend it, and extend it. For decades, Americans have acted as if they believed the promises; credit has been extended time and again. Their promises might be expected to attract men of good will anywhere. They have ranged from a projected world-wide good to benefits for men in their most intimate affairs. The promises have been imaginative, detailed, universal, varied, and almost innumerable.

Endless and Empty Promises

The "liberals" have promised world peace through international organization (first the League of Nations and then the United Nations), a *modus vivendi* with communists through concessions, the good will of all nations that would result from foreign aid programs, recovery from depression by inflation, a balanced budget with increased taxes, a balanced budget through reduced taxes, the solution of the farm problem by government programs, the solution to crime and delinquency through housing programs and aid to the poor, security in old age by way of social security taxes, quality education as a result of higher taxes, peaceful labor relations by way of government empowerment of labor unions, the rescue of small business by antitrust action, the revival of cities by pouring government credit and money into them, an end to monetary problems by a Federal Reserve System, better transportation service at lower prices by government regulation, the restoration of a "balance" between rural and urban inhabitants by farm subsidies, and so on, almost endlessly.

All the while, "liberals" have boasted that they were pragmatists, that they were interested only in results, that they tested programs by their workability. This is a most interesting claim, because, as we shall see, programs that have not worked have been expanded rather than abandoned. This pragmatic claim is one that should be expected in a confidence game. The man seeking credit will wish to assure his potential creditor that he, too, is a businessman, that results alone count with him, that he will oversee carefully every aspect of his undertaking

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and subject it to the most critical tests. Only when he is thus assured will the businessman extend credit. There may be nothing more to this, however, than verbal assurances.

There is a sense, of course, in which the borrower who will never repay is a pragmatist. He is pragmatic in that he judges his program of appeal for credit on whether he gets it or not. To the professional borrower, if he gets credit, his appeal worked; if the loan is denied, it did not. In like manner, the politician who gets elected to office concludes that his promises worked, though the substantial programs he proposed may have been miserable failures. In this sense, there should be no doubt that many "liberals" are pragmatists.

Foreign and Domestic Failures

Evidence mounts higher with the passage of time that the "liberal" programs do not work, that however much credit generous Americans extend, it only brings appeals for more time and larger amounts of money. Decades of experiments with reformist programs have brought results quite different from those promised. Vaunted international organizations have not brought peace and brotherhood to the world. This century has witnessed already two horrendous world wars and, on a smaller scale, perpetual wars and rumors of wars over much of the earth. The United Nations is today a Tower of Babel on the East River where delegates of the nations of the earth gather to wrangle over whether to take up some question or other and, if they ever agree to do that, to quarrel over the agenda, the procedures to be followed, and who the villains of the piece may be. Major disturbances are placed off limits from their concern and inconsequential matters are the subject of bootless resolutions.

Concessions to communists have not resulted in a *modus vivendi* betwixt us and them. On the contrary, such concessions have served time and again as opportunities for them to spread their ideas and extend their power. Diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States in the 1930's did not result in a mellowing of communists. On the contrary, it gave the government of the Soviet Union a means of bringing in more spies and organizing and controlling clandestine activities more effectively. Concessions, aid, even outright capitulation to the demands and requirements of Russian Communists during World War II did not transform them into warm friends emanating good will. On the con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trary, Stalin used the concessionary mood as an opportunity to extend Soviet power into eastern Europe and Asia. Nor have later concessions produced useful results. The Soviet Union and other communist countries currently are extending aid and comfort to America's enemies on the battlefield.

Foreign aid has hardly produced a world filled with nations friendly to the United States and eager to help us in whatever exigency arises. On the contrary, France, a beneficiary of American aid going back to World War I, is vigorously following policies antithetical to those of the United States. India has a consistent record of biting the hand that feeds it. Yugoslavia has hardly been won over from communism by American bounty. Many small countries use the occasion of American aid to make even more bellicose demands. In the American struggle with the Viet Cong, most of those with whom there are alliances can offer only carping criticism of American policy and practice. It may be that much of this failure stems from the ambiguous character of the aid in the first place, but this cannot alter the fact of the failure of the programs to produce the desired results.

The domestic programs of the "liberals" have met with similar failures over the years. Millions upon millions of people have left the farms in the wake of government programs which were supposed to make farming attractive. Surpluses accumulate of farm products priced above the market, while the prices of food and clothing rise, and more and more farmers find it difficult to make ends meet. Federal housing and urban development projects have succeeded thus far in making the hearts of many cities intolerable places in which to live and aggravating the lot of the poor. The Federal Reserve System was in vigorous operation when the United States suffered the worst depression in history. Small businessmen find it ever more difficult to survive because of the obstacles thrown in their way by government rather than by large corporations. Taxation for social security makes it increasingly difficult for wage earners to provide for their own retirement and medical care. And those who rely upon a social security "fund" for these purposes should know that there is no real fund, only the chance for Congressional appropriations when one reaches an age or condition to receive benefits.

Problems Aggravated

The "liberal" programs have failed more dramatically than the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

above would suggest. They have failed to diminish crime and delinquency, to bring peace in labor relations, to stop the clamor of the poor and dissident, or to maintain fundamental order in the land. "Liberal" efforts to wipe out crime by spending billions to change the environment have been confronted by increasing crime and delinquency, violence on city streets, and more and more danger to life and property in America. Billions for education go in some part to give aid and comfort to impudent and arrogant beatniks, hippies, and whatever the unwashed may call themselves. Rioting and looting in city after city have followed government programs supposed to aid just these people. Labor strife is spreading from industrial workers to firemen, police, and school teachers. Demonstrators arise over any cause, or none at all, to disrupt services, to hurl insults at public officials, to belabor Congress, to picket the White House, to stop rent payments, to force entrance of Negroes into suburban communities, or to prevent the shipment of munitions to Vietnam. Rapists and murderers, turned loose by courts enamored with technicalities, return to commit atrocities upon innocent citizens.

The fund of ideas of the "liberals" has run dry, though excuses still pour forth from them and their apologists. In the face of failure, they can only call for more of the same that has produced the failure in the first place. A man standing on the verge of bankruptcy will plead with his creditors to make yet another extension of the loan. His project will be successful yet, if he can only pour more money into it. So it is with the "liberals." The problems, they say, are very complex and it will take many more years to solve them. Much larger appropriations must be made in order to lick particularly tenacious problems.

The Socialist Formula Affords No Way Out

Deeper than this, there are increasing signs of paralysis of will and failure of nerve by the Liberal Establishment, as M. Stanton Evans has called it. This is not new, but it is becoming more widespread. It has been apparent for many years now that the farm program was a failure, but "liberals" have been unable even to confess their error or to abandon the programs. The failure of foreign aid has hardly diminished their cry for more for the future. That communists have not been pacified by concessions becomes the "liberal's" case for further concessions. Looting and pillage

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are greeted by calls for more far-reaching aid to the inner cities. Those in power can hardly muster the courage to deal with looting and pillage in the only way that has ever been effective – that is, by shooting looters until they stop. "Liberals" can neither pursue wars to a victorious conclusion nor withdraw. They can neither consent to vigorous punishment of criminals nor to the guilt of those who commit crimes. They can neither pay off the national debt nor even balance the budget.

In short, the "liberals" cannot cope with the situations which they have largely created. They cannot cope with them because all effective means of dealing with them are precluded by their fund of ideas. Their ideas call for peace through international organization, for accommodation with communists and dialogue to be opened up between East and West, for deficit spending to increase prosperity, for government regulation and control of the economy, for the curing of crime by improving the environment, for belief in the guilt of society rather than of individual criminals, continuous open-mindedness to all opinions however novel they may be. These assumptions must be abandoned or greatly modified if government is to become effective once again and if men are to have a better than even chance to deal with their own difficulties.

Awaiting Foreclosure

In the loose sense of the word, then, "liberalism" is bankrupt. It has been in the ascendant for many years now. It has had ample opportunity to try its ideas. They have been tried again and again, to no avail. It is devoid – bankrupt – of new ideas to deal with the situation that confronts America. It is short – bankrupt – in programs to meet the crises that loom in America. For example, its leaders can neither bring themselves to remove the privileges of organized labor nor to administer even the laws that exist for holding it in check. The War on Poverty or Great Society of President Johnson is only a warmed over version of the New Deal – but without a depression to whet peoples' appetites. "Liberalism" is paralyzed – bankrupt – by its commitment to programs that have been going on for decades. It is incapable of innovating. It can only press on half-heartedly to the enactment of new sumptuary laws (*vis a vis* cigarette smoking or safety features of automobiles or the inspection of meat), to special enactments of the legislature to put strikers back to work, to new controls upon enterprise, and so on, and on.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the technical sense, "liberalism" is not yet bankrupt. Bankruptcy only occurs when a man is confronted with bills that he cannot pay, when he is forced to admit that he cannot meet his obligations or fulfill his promises. (There is also voluntary bankruptcy which occurs when a man simply states that he cannot meet his obligations, though his creditors have not yet foreclosed.) "Liberalism" is not yet bankrupt in this sense. It is still in the ascendant, politically. It is still making successful appeals for the extension of credit from the people, as it were. The national debt "limit" is still being raised, and appropriations are still being made for a vast assortment of programs. So long as this continues, "liberalism" remains in business.

Creditors Have the Option

Bankruptcy is not automatic. It does not come simply because projects fail or because a promoter goes deeper and deeper into debt. In short, a debtor may ruin both himself and his creditors. If they will allow him, he can drag them down with him. Bankruptcy is a proceeding by which a halt is called to the whole process. Creditors decide that they will throw no more good money after bad, that they will give up on the debtor and recoup as much as they can from such resources as remain.

It is the same with "liberalism." There is no automatic point at which "liberals" must or will proclaim their insolvency. The American people, as creditors, have the option of continuing to extend credit, to plunge themselves finally into bankruptcy along with the "liberals." They can acquiesce, or stand by inactive, while the budget is unbalanced year after year and the national debt mounts and the value of money declines, while foreign war continues with no conclusion in sight and presumptuous diplomats to the United Nations continue to whittle away at national sovereignty, while regulation destroys business after business, while the streets of cities and towns become unsafe, while looters, pillagers, and murderers prey upon Americans until the final disorder has engulfed us all in a new Dark Ages. Whole peoples have, in times past, been pulled down into the same state of moral and intellectual bankruptcy as their leaders.

Someone Must Take Action

The present mode of temporizing with "liberalism" practiced by most politicians, even those who oppose it as a direction, will not bring it to bankruptcy in time to forestall the bankruptcy of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American people. It does no good to insist that the debt "limit" be raised only by $6 billion this year instead of $10 billion or that the budget be unbalanced by only $4 billion instead of $16 billion. A little more bombing in North Vietnam is unlikely to bring the war to a successful conclusion. The man on the verge of bankruptcy will take whatever credit is extended and continue to make his unproductive schemes seem to work.

Demand Payment

"Liberalism's" bankruptcy will only be proclaimed when credit is shut off, when the bills are presented for payment, when the promissory notes are called. The "liberals" must be held to an accounting. They must be presented with their cumulative promises over the years, and be shown that one after another their programs have failed. They must be shown that when they have taken action it has produced such and such results.

More, for bankruptcy to be proclaimed, for the choice to be made, men must stand for political office who will promise not to temporize with the "liberal" programs and who will keep that promise when elected. They must say that the budget will be balanced, that the inflation will cease, that the debt will be funded (however painful this may be), that wars will be fought to conclusion, that enterprise will be freed from bondage, that union violence and threat of violence will cease, that criminals will be apprehended, that rioters will be shot, that insurrection and sedition will be dealt with harshly, that order will be maintained and liberty restored to America.

Such stands will not be easy to take and maintain. "Liberalism" dominates the major media of communication. Anyone who insists upon the principles of freedom can expect a full measure of villification and denunciation. He will find himself and his ideas held up to the most searching scrutiny by newspaper reporters and commentators. As a reward for all this, he may very well be rejected by the American people and never again appointed or elected to office. Yet, if "liberalism" is to be thrown into the bankruptcy upon which it totters today, such stands must be made. Credit must be cut off from the "liberals," lest the American people be pulled downward into ruin as well.

A Time of Testing for Politicians and Voters

The test of the politician comes when he confronts the issue of taking a stand on principle or continuing to drift with the tide.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The test of voters comes when they are confronted with a choice of politicians, some of whom take their stand on principle, while others continue promising the marvels that will be accomplished by following the "liberal" prescriptions yet another mile. The acid test for bankruptcy occurs when the creditors decide whether to extend credit one more time or to demand payment. The American people have been the long suffering creditors of "liberalism." For four decades they have extended credit time after time, for one unbalanced budget after another, for ever higher taxes (local, state, and national), with accelerations in the depreciation of the currency. For their efforts, they have unfulfilled promises, depleted purses, and spreading disorder, national and international. Their choice is either to proclaim the bankruptcy of "liberalism" or to be dragged down with it. The evidence is in that "liberalism" is bankrupt in all but name. The way Americans choose, when and where they have the opportunity, will tell whether they, too, are bankrupt. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

George Washington

OF ALL the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness — these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Curse and Cure of Covetousness

LEONARD E. READ

WHILE MANY PEOPLE deplore covetousness, few will compare it to murder, theft, adultery as an evil. Nor will they think of it as having any bearing on our current politico-economic problems. This wrong assessment may be due to the fact that "Thou shalt not covet" brings up the rear of the Mosaic thou-shalt-nots.

I suspect that the ordering of the Commandments had nothing to do with a sin-grading scheme. Only one of the ten had obvious priority and it became the First Commandment. The other nine were listed, perhaps, as they came to mind. And covetousness, more subtle and an afterthought, concludes the list. But on reflection, covetousness is as deadly as any of the other sins – indeed, it tends to induce the others.

Covetousness or envy generates a destructive radiation with ill effect on all it touches.

Psychosomatic illnesses can be traced as much to envy as to hate, anger, worry, despondency.

But consider the social implications, the effects of envy on others. At first blush, the rich man appears not to be harmed because another covets his wealth. Envy, however, is not a benign, dormant element of the psyche; it has the same intensive force as rage, and a great deal of wisdom is required to put it down. Where understanding and self-control are wholly lacking, the weakling will resort to thievery, embezzlement, piracy, even murder, to gratify his envy and "get his share."

Though weakness of character afflicts all of us to some extent, only a few are so lacking in restraining forces as to personally employ naked force, such as thievery, to realize the objects of envy. Fear of apprehension and reprisal tends to hold such open-faced evil in check.

However, if the evil act can be screened, if the sense of personal guilt and responsibility can be sufficiently submerged, that is, if self-delusion can be effected, grat-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ification of covetousness will be pursued by the "best people."

Hiding in Anonymity

The way is an open secret: achieve anonymity in a mob, committee, organization, society, or hide behind legality or majority vote.

With the fear of exposure removed, millions of Americans feather their own nests at the expense of others, and on a scale never imagined by thieves, pirates, or embezzlers. Our "best people," including the highly "educated," gratify their envy with no qualms whatsoever. But their salved conscience in no way lessens the evil of covetousness; quite the contrary, it emphasizes to us how powerfully this evil operates at the politico-economic level. This subtle evil is indeed the genesis of more obvious sins.

We should also note the extent to which this "guiltless" taking of property by coercion is rationalized. Accomplices, bearing such titles as philosophers and economists, rise to the occasion; they explain how the popular depredations are good for everyone, even for those looted. Thus, we find that covetousness, unchecked in the individual, lies at the root of the decline and fall of nations and civilizations.

In considering the effect on the one who covets, we must be careful not to confuse the taking of another's property with the taking unto oneself of a higher level of intelligence and morality exemplified by another. The former is depredation, harmful to both self and the other; the latter is emulation, helpful to all concerned.

As contrasted with the emulation of virtues, which takes nothing from but adds to the welfare of others, envy is nothing more than an avaricious greed to possess what exclusively belongs to others. Envy is a lust of the flesh as opposed to an elevation of the spirit. The Hindus saw it clearly for what it really is: "Sin is not the violation of a law or a convention but . . . ignorance . . . which seeks its own private gain at the expense of others. . . ."[1] William Penn grasped the point: "Covetousness is the greatest of Monsters, as well as the root of all Evil."

Thwarting One's Purpose

As a person cannot be in two places at the same time, so is it impossible for the eye to be cast covetously at the material possessions of others and cast aspiringly at one's own creativity. Thus, envy leaves unattended the human be-

[1] From *The Bhagavadgita* (Translation by S. Radhakrishnan. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 224.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing's upgrading; it is a positive distraction from the "hatching" process – Creation's Purpose. It's either hatch or rot, as with an egg; envy leaves the soul, the spirit, the intellect, the psyche to rot, and there can be no greater evil than this.

Count Your Blessings!

When it is clear that covetousness thwarts Creation's Purpose and, thus, man's destiny – that among the cardinal sins none is greater – it surely behooves each of us to find a way to rid ourselves of this evil.

I believe the way is simple to proclaim: *Count your blessings!*

Any person who is not aware of countless blessings, regardless of how low or high his estate, will be no more aware of his blessings should his envy be gratified. Awareness of blessings is a state of consciousness and is not necessarily related to abundance and affluence. He who is rich in worldly goods but unaware of his blessings is poor, and probably covetous; he who is poor in worldly goods but aware of his blessings is rich, and assuredly without envy.

How easy the advice: Count your blessings! But what about the person unaware of his blessings? As well advise him to acquire wisdom, for wisdom *is* awareness. Some individuals are aware of no blessings, others of a few, still others of numerous blessings. Yet, no one is more than slightly aware, just as no one is more than slightly wise.

Exactly how unaware we are of our blessings can be seen by committing them to paper – actually counting. While they are in infinite supply, observe how few are recognized. Now, throw the list away; for these must be alive each and every day in the consciousness, not stored on paper, not mechanically canned.

Try again, later: this is an exercise that one should never abandon. The list is longer? Note, also, how much greater the wisdom is. Conscious effort, really trying, constantly pressing against the unknown for more light is the nature of this discipline.

As progress is made in an awareness of our blessings, we are struck by how greatly they outnumber our woes and troubles. In a state of unawareness, the woes loom enormous, and we tend to covetousness; in awareness the woes are but trifles, and the covetousness fades away.

What a remarkable cure for covetousness! While the cure rids us of our woes, it also puts us on the road to social felicity; and a further dividend is wisdom. ◈

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Individual Liberty and "The Humanities"

GEORGE B. DE HUSZAR

THE LIBERTARIAN POSITION musters strong support in the disciplines of economics and political science, but libertarian scholarship has neglected the realms of art, literature, and philosophy. Further study of the humanities and their disciplines would round out the case for personal freedom. Eliseo Vivas was saying the same when he wrote in the *Chicago Tribune Magazine* of December 5, 1965: "We've had first-rate political and economic thinking from von Mises, Hayek, and Milton Friedman, but none in other fields. There has been no major philosophical mind to emerge – the same for theologians. . . . Two of the great values which we've lost sight of are the tragic and heroic dimensions of human existence. There is no more room for them in our society – yet they are essential components . . . the old sense of mystery and the sacred" have become secondary.

While on the one hand, philosophical and literary works would provide humane support for freedom and individuality, on the other, they would encourage teachers and students in the humanities to get interested in them.

An indirect, noneconomic and nonpolitical approach which makes little explicit reference to contemporary socio-economic-political arguments may be the best way to teach such basic values as dedication to freedom and individuality. The humanities are acceptable to many teachers and students otherwise reluctant to embrace the libertarian position. An approach through the humanities would make an impact in the realm of

George B. de Huszar is the author and editor of over a dozen books which have been published in the United States, Latin America, Europe, and Asia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ideas rather than explicitly arguing in favor of freedom and individualism and explicitly criticizing socialism and communism.

As F. A. Hayek pointed out in *The Road to Serfdom* (p. 13) basic individualism goes back further than the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and has broad philosophical and literary foundations. Making the case for freedom and individuality in terms of the humane studies would show these broad philosophical and literary bases to teachers and students.

Surface Symptoms

Politics forms the outside skin of the social organism; therefore, political manifestations are often but symptoms. To understand the disease, a deeper insight is required. To comprehend the fundamental problems of freedom and individuality, it is necessary to go beneath the surface and analyze philosophical and cultural issues. The unorthodox perceptions of philosophy, literature, and art should not be dismissed as flights of eccentric fancy. On the contrary, they make possible the explorations which provide deeper insights into the nature of freedom and individuality, such explorations as those by Cervantes, Kierkegaard, and Dostoevsky. Has anyone explored the fundamental psychological causes and implications of collectivism more effectively than Nietzsche, or more perceptively questioned the value and limitation of civilization and progress than Rimbaud and Gauguin, or seen more clearly into communism than Heine?

"The Coldest of All Monsters"

Jakob Burckhardt stated that Nietzsche's books had increased "independence in the world." Stefan Zweig thought that "freedom is Nietzsche's ultimate significance" and entitled one of his chapters on Nietzsche as "The Teacher of Freedom." Nietzsche himself called the state the coldest of all monsters. He said that socialism is "the tyranny of the meanest and most brainless" and then made the following prophetic statement in the nineteenth century:

"... Socialism is on the whole a hopelessly bitter affair: and there is nothing more amusing than to observe the discord between the poisonous and desperate faces of present-day socialism – and what wretched and nonsensical feelings does not their style reveal to us! – and the childish lamblike happiness of their hopes and desires. Nevertheless, in many places in Europe, there may be violent hand-to-hand struggles and irruptions on their account: the coming century is likely to be convulsed in more than one spot, and the Paris Commune, which finds defenders and advocates

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

even in Germany, will seem to have been but a slight indigestion compared with what is to come."

Heine was similarly prophetic. In 1842 he wrote: "The future has an odour as of Russian leather, blood, blasphemy, and much beating with the knout. I advise our descendants to come into the world with thick skins." In his *Confessions* Heine said: "I was oppressed by a certain worldly apprehension which I could not overcome, for I saw that atheism had entered into a more or less secret compact with the most terribly naked, quite fig-leafless, communistic communism."

What is needed is the opening up of material which remains largely outside the interest of many social scientists, to raise new questions, and to suggest new methods. As matters stand today, many who are deeply committed to the analysis of freedom and individuality unfortunately find it difficult to recognize the relevance of the humanities to their concerns. They should be provided with new "weapons" and new "ammunition."

A Monopoly of Culture

"Liberals" have appropriated not only concern for the people's welfare but also for culture. The Editor of the *University Observer* (Winter, 1947, p. 29) stated that "liberals are always troubled when they find that a political reactionary is a man of vision whose intellectual or artistic work demands respect. . . . According to the liberal creed, those who are on the side of man's political progress should also be the most gifted, while the enemies of progress should turn out to have little to say; by rights, they should be uncreative." Thus "liberals" denigrate "reactionary" thinkers, or claim great figures of the humanities as being their own, or use them in an illegitimate manner. But many great figures in the humanities should be identified with the side where they properly belong – genuine concern with freedom and individuality. The fate of Kierkegaard is an example. Karl Löwith in *From Hegel to Nietzsche* falsely asserted that "Marx destroyed the bourgeois-capitalistic, and Kierkegaard the bourgeois-Christian world." What has become "existentialism" in recent German thought, as exemplified by Tillich, is mainly a form of socialism. What has become "existentialism" in recent French thought, as exemplified by Sartre, is to a large extent Marxism. Recently a course has been offered in New York City entitled "Marxist Existentialism."

It often occurs that everybody sits on each other's lap and no-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

body sits on the chair. As has been said, man's mind is more gregarious than his body. The obsession with "dialogue" makes it difficult to develop private views. Yet, only persons with private views can be impervious to the deeper aspects of collectivism as well as to its most obvious and overt manifestations. Mass organizations bombard us from every angle with slogans and clichés to unite us for collective action. We succumb to habitual forms of thinking and the prevalence of fads and fashions in the intellectual world. All these discourage adherence to one's own view, critical mentality, individuality, and the inwardness of man. In contrast, all that is personal and private – literary insight, artistic taste, religious dedication – is to a large extent noncommunicable; they separate men and make each more aware of his uniqueness and what makes him different, and thus hinder the march of collectivism in the philosophic and social sense. Without such defenses, each person is vulnerable to collectivism.

Primacy of the Individual

A fundamental thesis of the humanities approach is the primacy of the individual not only in the usual and obvious sense but also in the sense that the more unique a person is the more valuable he is. This can be demonstrated most effectively by the humane studies, though it has not been done sufficiently. Richard M. Weaver has expressed pessimism about the fate of the humanities in view of the fact that the nonaverage, what is best in man, is suppressed by today's humanists. ("The Humanities in a Century of the Common Man," *New Individualist Review*, III, 1964).

The daemonic and evil forces in the nature of man, the recognition of which is essential to any serious discussion, can also be best shown through the humanities. Those who operate within the fashionable framework of Comte, St. Simon, Marx, Darwin, Freud, Dewey, the behavioral sciences, and so on, will be forever incapable of understanding the basic issues involved in the struggle between individualism and collectivism. They will not comprehend many things which are not in their philosophy but exist on earth. But, perhaps it is a mistake to spend too much time criticizing this fashionable framework. It is more urgent to rise above this embattled terrain and discuss matters on a higher plane, genuinely humane.

It is necessary to resist scientism which to a large extent is materialistic and to demonstrate that man is a "spiritual" being,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

good or bad and capable of both, and that he does not exist in the world in the sense that rocks and other *things* do. Once more this can be most effectively done through the humanities which reveal the meaning of "philosophy."

The children of philosophy have grown up and have established homes of their own. Philosophy has become fragmentized; it has been divided into logic, which is often reduced to mathematics or the science of language; metaphysics which is often reduced to physics; ethics, which is often reduced to anthropology; aesthetics, which is often reduced to psychology. Much that was once considered philosophy is today part of the empire of science. The battle against materialism can be best undertaken by reaffirming whenever possible the value of "spiritual" *ends*; we need to recover the original meaning of "philosophy" now hidden behind the imperialism of science.

Thus, we may look to the humanities and their disciplines to accomplish the following: (1) promotion of the idea of freedom and individuality by using an indirect approach; (2) enhancement of the libertarian position by the prestige of philosophy, literature, and art; (3) reaching individuals interested in such matters, many of whom would not otherwise be attracted to the libertarian viewpoint. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Signs of Civilization

THOUGH OUR CIVILIZATION is the result of a cumulation of individual knowledge, it is not by the explicit or conscious combination of all this knowledge in any individual brain, but by its embodiment in symbols which we use without understanding them, in habits and institutions, tools, and concepts, that man in society is constantly able to profit from a body of knowledge neither he nor any other man completely possesses. Many of the greatest things man has achieved are not the result of consciously directed thought, and still less the product of a deliberately co-ordinated effort of many individuals, but of a process in which the individual plays a part which he can never fully understand. They are greater than any individual precisely because they result from the combination of knowledge more extensive than a single mind can master.

F. A. HAYEK, *The Counter-Revolution of Science*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE University AND Secondary Education

JOHN O. NELSON

IN DISCUSSING university and secondary education we are treading upon holy ground. We are expected to tread with prayerful reverence. To be sure, we may condemn what universities and secondary education in fact are, but only in order to promote a more sublime (or expensive) picture of what they should be. The university and the secondary school have become objects of testy veneration and stern worship. An intellectual, political, and moral execution greets, with an almost sure predictability, the heretic who refuses to genuflect before them. Even those who, like Russell Kirk and the editorial writer of *Barron's*, argue merely for the superiority of private over public education are likely to receive a few admonishing strokes on their back.[1] Small heresies, after all, can lead to large ones, and large ones to the largest – the very rejection of formal education itself, private or public.

I suppose that, like a temple priest, I have been an "insider" too long to be awed either by the idols within the shrine or my fellow priests. In any case, I mean here to part company with the universal worship of formal education.[2] Thus, I shall not ask,

Dr. Nelson is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Colorado where he has taught since 1950. Articles and papers by him have appeared in numerous scholarly journals and books in the United States and abroad.

[1] See, Russell Kirk, "From the Academy," *The National Review*, Sept. 19, 1967, p. 1021; "Harmful Monopoly," *Barron's*, Sept. 11, 1967, p. 1.

[2] I shall not include in the present reference primary education, or education in the mere acquisition of the skills of "reading, writing, and arithmetic." Primary education – and particularly, universal, compulsory primary education – merits a separate study. It will be seen, for example, that the objections we advance against university and secondary schooling do not apply to primary education, not even universal, compulsory primary education (although other objections do).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"How can secondary education better serve the university?" or "How can universities and secondary schools be improved to better fit the young for life?" I shall, instead, attack the common presupposition of these questions and others like them. It will suffice for this purpose to examine the last of the two questions I have hypothetically posed.

The question, "How can universities and secondary schools be improved to better fit the young for life?" presupposes that universities and secondary schools fit young persons for life. Now I do not wish to claim that university and secondary schooling unfit all persons for life. I am ready to agree that they do not unfit, for instance, the theoretical physicist for his life; or the savant in ancient languages for his; or the young aristocrat for his; or the priest for his. I do, however, want to claim that they unfit young persons for life *by and large*.

Different Ways of Life

What criteria can we employ for deciding whether university and secondary schooling fit or unfit a person for life? For one thing we can ask whether the person himself fits a university and secondary education and vice versa. We might plausibly argue here: by its very nature, a university or secondary education molds a person in such-and-such patterns; a person has or has not the potential to be molded in certain patterns. Returning to a previous analogy, we might compare a university or high school to a seminary for the priesthood. In the seminary a mental, spiritual, and physical indoctrination is imposed whose emphasis is on abstract studies and speculations, asceticism, and meditation. The student who devotes six or seven years to this discipline and does so successfully emerges in the priestly mold: devoted now by habit to abstract studies and speculations, asceticism, and meditation. It is a well-known fact that most persons are not fit for the priesthood. They lack the physical, mental, and spiritual attributes that are required. Thus, were large numbers of our young population compelled to enter the priesthood and to pass through seminaries, we could expect to find a large portion of the population composed of individuals who were not doing and being what they were suited to be and do.

Now the university by its very nature – and formal education in general – imposes a mold that, though not so narrow in its definition as the mold imposed by a religious seminary, is still fairly narrow. Emphasis is placed upon

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

abstract studies of one kind or another; on verbal acquisitions of one kind or another; in short, on the more purely symbolic activities and enterprises of men. Eyes, minds, hands, and hearts are correspondingly turned toward the symbolic sphere; i.e., paper work of one sort or another, abstract objects, abstract controversy, theorizing, and the like, and away from the practical sphere; i.e., physical labor, crafts, domestic work, and the concrete activities of business, such as making a profit, sales-clerking, stevedoring, bargaining, and so on. They are turned toward the one sphere and away from the other in two important ways. One is perfectly obvious. When young persons undergo training in the disciplines of Academe for from twelve to sixteen years, day after day, ten months a year, what abilities they may have in the symbolic sphere are sharpened and strengthened, but what abilities they may have in the practical sphere are dulled and atrophied by disuse.

Unfit for Production

The other is not so obvious but is, perhaps, even more consequential. The very insistence of parents, elders, and communities that young persons devote their energies and minds twelve to sixteen years, nine to ten months of the year, eight hours a day, to the disciplines and objects of formal schooling carries with it an implicit evaluation. It carries with it the implicit idea that one's interests and efforts should be devoted to the disciplines and objects of Academe rather than the disciplines and objects of business, farming, physical labor, and the like. For, why else would so much of one's life and efforts be required to be spent in the fields of academic labor as compared to the time and effort spent in the practical sphere? But this "should" implies, further, that academic labor is somehow more worthy than business and other practical labor; indeed, even that the latter is somehow unworthy or even contemptible. Thus, the person who emerges from a university or high school, culminating from twelve to sixteen years of academic training, will naturally entertain the prejudice that he ought to value (whether he in fact does or not) the disciplines and objects of Academe and that he ought to disvalue (whether he in fact does or not) the disciplines and objects of the practical sphere.

The natures of most persons, however, are not cut of abstract, scholarly cloth. What, then, is the outcome if vast numbers of the young are adjured and indirectly forced to attend universities, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

almost the entire population of the young is directly forced to attend schools devoted to the preliminaries of university education? We can expect to find, and we do find, a large percentage of young persons who have been trained mentally, physically, and emotionally to do and be what they are not suited to do or be. More tragic, though, these young persons have learned in the process, or will have learned, to consider as alien or even contemptible those very things that most of them were naturally suited to be and do. We might expect such individuals typically to be resentful, frustrated, destructive — like Plato's stinged drones, a bane to both themselves and others. And typically they are.

Serving One's Time in School

Exactly what percentage or number of students suffers or has suffered in this way from the impositions of secondary and university education I do not know. I do not know whether, indeed, any reliable figures on their number exist. But as I have already indicated, the number is enormous. Unimpeachable doctrine would say, for example, that a person who is doing and being what he is fitted to do and be displays interest and excitement in what he is doing; the person who is doing and being what he is not fitted to do or be displays and senses alienation. To put it bluntly: the usual student is alienated.

I am not, incidentally, referring here to what is currently called "student alienation" in the press and magazines. What the press and magazines call "student alienation" is nothing of the sort. It is, rather, the camouflaged thrust of a small student and faculty segment of Academe to win control of the educational system. Its true name is "student power," and "student power" can best be understood as simply another of the many pincer-movements presently being launched by predatory socialists ("civil-rights" would be another; Federal anti-riot legislation still another) to complete the communization of the United States.

The pretended "student alienation" of predatory socialism is characterized by the disproportionate amount of publicity and pretentious analysis it receives in the news media and the volume of self-righteous noise it generates. Genuine student alienation is seldom publicized, though frequently commented on by teachers. It is characterized, not by speechmaking, but apathy. The truly alienated student is the student who merely goes through the motions of attending class, taking tests, reading texts. He is like the army

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

draftee: a prisoner merely serving out his time. He has no real concern with the abstract objects of Academe. And *his* name is legion.

An Army of Bureaucrats

I have described one respect in which the university and secondary school by and large unfit, instead of fit, young persons for life. This has had to do with the individual as such. There is still another, and no less consequential, respect in which formal education unfits, rather than fits, young persons for life. Ignoring the nature of this or that particular individual, we might consider the nature of any advanced economy. An advanced economy rests upon capitalization; capitalization rests upon a production of commodities that exceeds consumption; and such production finally rests upon a tradition and practice of intent physical labor, both skilled and unskilled, upon factory labor, farm labor, business labor and business enterprise, and upon the invention of goods and services. Lives must be devoted to these forms of labor and enterprise, the lives of intelligent and emotionally satisfied persons, or there must result economic breakdown and decline.

But as we have seen, the formal educational system by and large unfits persons, mentally, physically, and emotionally, for these all-important forms of practical labor and enterprise. It prepares persons for lives devoted to paper work and theory. But even an advanced economy has only so much use for scribes and theoreticians. Where, then, can the paper-minded and theory-minded graduates of the high school and university find both useful and satisfying employment? In a word, the great majority cannot. At best, they can find simply what mimics such employment. That is, they can be employed in government bureaucracy (and very many are) or they can be plowed back into the educational system, in the manner of Ponzi's famous pyramidal fraud (and very many are).

Neither bureaucracies, however, nor bloated educational systems add a tittle of substance to an economy. They both drain away the fruits of productive labor and finally the laborers themselves. Thus the university — along with its handmaiden, secondary education — by and large unfits persons for life not only by molding them to ambitions and training that do not fit their real talents and capacities, but also by fitting them for occupations that have, on the whole, no justifiable role to play in the economy. The economy calls for business labor and enter-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prise, farm labor and enterprise, factory labor and enterprise; the high school and university consume hordes of potential businessmen, farmers, and workers, and spew out in return bureaucratic scribes and theoretical ne'er-do-wells.

Prelude to Tyranny

This conversion of potential entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial workers into termites (bureaucratic scribes) and stinged drones (theoretical ne'er-do-wells) can terminate only in totalitarian tyranny. Consider, for instance, the following excerpt from an editorial in a recent issue of a farm journal: "We may have to draft farmers some day, if an attitude expressed in a recent University of Illinois survey becomes widespread. It showed that 95 per cent of nearly 3,000 rural high school juniors and seniors want no part of farming as their life's work."[3] It is hardly necessary to point out the connection between these empirical statistics and our theoretical projections. What theory tells us must occur is, in concrete fact, occurring. It might be added, moreover, that the attitude referred to in the editorial is making itself felt not only in farming but in business enterprise of all sorts, in the region of domestic help, in every kind of work.

When the present explosion of secondary and university education has had its full impact, not only will a farm-draft be necessary to replenish the labor siphoned off from the vital areas of the economy by higher education and its psychological influences but a general work-draft. This "draft for a great society" (one can already foresee its name) will predictably fail in its economic objectives. The shadow of its failure has already been cast for some fifty years by the economic failures of state-slavery in Russia, or what is aptly called in the pages of Marxism "scientific socialism." Economic failure will predictably beget more government regulation and coercion; the latter, more failure; and so on. Thus, paradoxically, from those very institutions that prate most loudly of freedom – the university and the high school – will emerge, and is emerging, not freedom but total serfdom.

Central Planning No Solution

I have so far painted a very dark and foreboding picture of the handiwork of the university and the secondary school in the United States. Now, let me present a possible exit from the grim conclusions I have been forced to

[3] *The Kansas Farmer-Stockman*, August, 1967, p. 4.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

draw. This exit depends on the possibility of universities and secondary schools fitting, instead of unfitting, young persons for life in the two respects that I have been discussing – at least, by and large, and at least in the case of those matriculating in either. But how can this twofold end be achieved?

Certainly it cannot be achieved in the way that the socialist, either scientific or utopian, will suggest. If "scientific," he will suggest that government planning and regulation determine in one way or another who is to be trained for factory work, who for farm work, and who for theoretical work. Entrance and residence in a university and high school will be subsumed under this coercive programming. Presumably, under its fine milling and grinding, those who are by nature farmers will be allotted to farming, those who are by nature theoretical physicists to theoretical physics, and the right numbers of each to maximally satisfy the needs of the economy.

Remove the Coercion and Trust Competitive Schooling

But state planning and coercion have proved to be an economic failure wherever tried, and theoretic consideration shows they must. I shall not repeat on the last score the findings of Mises, Rothbard, and others. They are easily accessible. And they are conclusive.[4] It suffices to point out that, this being so, state regulation of admission to universities and high schools and state planning of curricula cannot solve the problems we have been discussing, since these problems are basically economic in character. And for the same reason, the utopian socialist can offer no solution. He may suggest, for example, free and unlimited entrance and residence in universities and high schools. But who is to supply the housing, classrooms, bread, wine, and teachers for these high-living inhabitants of Academe? The utopian socialist invariably fails to tell us. He waves the wand of his feverish imagination and like a madman thinks the imaginary banquets and ivory towers that then spring into being have real substance.

The vexing human and economic problems that university and secondary education present can be resolved, however, in the following very simple and noncoercive way. We need merely require that all tax-support be withdrawn from both; that compulsory school attendance, child labor laws, minimum-wage laws, coercive unionism, the military draft, and the other artificial instruments, de-

[4] See for example, Murray N. Rothbard, *Man, Economy, and State* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1962), Vol. 1 & 2, pp. 765 ff.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

veloped and sustained through government, which isolate education from the competition of an open market, be abolished or repealed. This being done, all secondary and university education would be placed upon an equal footing of trade with the other products and services of men, to compete with them according to supply and demand and the free wills of men. Universities and secondary schools would then take on all the various shapes and purposes that the market would call for and sustain; they would be attended by and large only by those fitted for the schooling provided; and they would by and large fit those who matriculated for the lives they were best fitted to live. Competition on the open market and economic supply and demand would see to this, and would see to it with incorruptible honesty. ◈

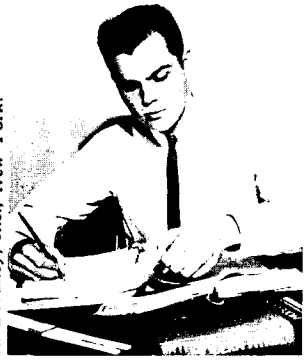
IDEAS ON LIBERTY

The Case for the Private School

MANY AMERICAN PARENTS feel rightly that they, and not the state, should be responsible for what their children become; that education should be divorced from political control; and that those who prefer private instruction for their children should not be taxed for the upkeep of facilities which they did not choose nor curricula to which they do not want them exposed. There is a growing feeling that top administration and control of government school systems are too remote and too difficult to influence, that parents are mere robots in a machine that leaves little individual choice. There is some resentment that families should be taxed to "educate" the ineducable until adulthood when there is neither the capacity nor desire among these "children" nor their parents for further instruction.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A. Devaney, Inc., New York.

Some Reflections ON Education

W. A. PATON

THE EDUCATION of the individual, in a broad sense, consists of the impact on his mind of the entire stream of phenomena encountered during his lifetime, including the *resulting reflection and pondering.* Formal education – training in schools and other institutions devoted in some degree to teaching and learning – is only one sector of the whole process, and presumably not the most important element in many cases. Nowadays almost everybody goes to school until the age of fifteen or sixteen, at least, and college training, including a substantial amount of graduate work, has become the regular route to entry into the major professional fields and the executive levels in business.

To note that education can be – and has often been – acquired without schooling is not equivalent to suggesting that people should stay clear of schools. Having been connected with formal education for more than a half century, I am unwilling to go that far. But I feel that we should avoid the conclusion that going to college assures intellectual growth and a successful life. The college degree may help to open the door to a job upon graduation, but it doesn't guarantee that the graduate has the stuff essential to good performance.

It follows that a school should be regarded as a specialized undertaking, not as the embodiment of all human experience and activity in miniature. In other words, a school should concentrate on the training and learning that can be accomplished more speedily and effectively in an institutional setting than through general day-by-

Dr. Paton is Professor Emeritus of Accounting and of Economics, University of Michigan, and is known throughout the world for his outstanding work in these fields. His comments here are excerpts from an article in *The Accounting Review*, January, 1967.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

day experience, at home or on the job or while spending time otherwise. Moreover, the school should not only restrict its efforts to fields which lend themselves to attack in classroom and laboratory but should give primary attention to subjects that are acknowledged to be especially significant and worthwhile. Even in these high-spending days no school has unlimited resources, and hence there is need for care and good judgment in determining the nature and scope of an institution's activities.

The tendency to try to cover the whole waterfront, to include in the curriculum all sorts of courses for which no solid justification can be found, is one of the explanations of the sorry showing made by many present-day schools at both college and precollege levels. Somewhat related is the disposition to expand, proliferate, splinter the offerings in areas both worthwhile and questionable.

Curricula Criteria

Even if the generalization be accepted that the role of the school is limited, there remains ample room for debate as to the subjects to be included in a school program and the time and effort to be devoted to each. In making a start on the task of setting standards for selecting subjects to be taught, it may be helpful to take note of some broad principles. A review of the mental activities of the human animal suggests a possible grouping under two main heads.

In the first place there is the process of observing and sizing up the phenomena encountered. Watch a small youngster and you'll note that he is busy looking the scene over and doing some appraising of what he observes (including, of course, hearing and feeling as well as seeing under the term observation). In the second place there is the process of transmitting or communicating impressions, views, and desires to others, beginning with parents and other members of the family.

In other words, the individual's mental activity boils down to: (1) absorbing, appraising, pondering, pigeonholing; (2) purposeful arraying and communicating. Or to put the point very tersely: brainwork consists at bottom of (1) measuring and (2) reporting. Needless to say, this stab at underlying classification is subject to plenty of objections, but this is true of all taxonomic efforts, in all fields, even at the dichotomy level. (This comment, incidentally, brings to mind another twofold division of the thinking process: (1) breakdown or analysis and (2) synthesis.)

Applying the basic criteria in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dicated, it is evident that the traditional three R's come out well. Reading and 'riting are major means of absorbing and transmitting, and 'rithmetic is indispensable to measurement. Writing in the calligraphic sense is not to be disdained; achieving a good hand is worthwhile, like learning to spell accurately, and a host of other accomplishments. But writing ability in the sense of first-class composition is a more rare and much more significant attainment. If I were faced with the problem of selecting the outstanding subject deserving rigorous and continuing attention in the school system, in preparation for a useful career, I would not pick physics or accounting but would give the edge to English composition. In professional work of all kinds the ability to write well (reflecting the ability to think well) is of paramount importance.

In stressing writing I am not forgetting the great importance of being able to speak well, and I believe that a college or university curriculum may properly include some courses in this field. I am also not forgetting that reading ability is the underlying talent, and that without at least fair reading skill it is difficult to make real headway in any direction in the formal educational system. Extensive reading of good writing, of course, is a great aid in building a vocabulary and developing the ability to write.

Vocational vs. Cultural

An example of the human habit of setting up contrasts and controversies where there is no basic clash, plus the exaggeration of such differences as may be present, is the long-standing discussion of the relative merits of vocational and cultural studies and pursuits. Without fully understanding what they have been aiming at, many teachers and school administrators have been clamoring for more emphasis on the cultural as opposed to the vocational or career-building approach in setting up college programs. "Let's develop a social consciousness," "Let's learn to be good citizens," "Let's broaden our understanding" – such are the slogans of this group. Above all, so they say, "Let's avoid the mere bread-and-butter courses."

This kind of talk is pure tommy-rot. When is a person going to get ready to be productive if not during his school days, now lengthened into a long stretch of years, a substantial slice of an entire life span? I would not advise any young man to go to college unless his primary objective is to prepare himself for some profession or field of endeavor, unless he hopes that the college training will help

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

him to get hold of a rung of a career ladder. (This doesn't necessarily mean that he need make a final choice of a vocation before entering college, or even that the matter has to be settled during the first year or two; there's something to be said for retaining flexibility, and having more than a single string to one's bow.)

Learn the Native Language Before Dabbling in Others

But there is more to the story. Upon analysis and appraisal of the so-called cultural courses one finds little support for their pretensions. Foreign language study is generally regarded as an outstanding part of the cultural curriculum, and some schools require all students to take one, two, or more years of work in this field. In some cases, indeed, this is the only universal subject requirement. What are the results for the mine-run student: a bare smattering of knowledge of a language in which he will never become proficient and which he will never use. In puttering, halfheartedly, through one or two years of classes in a foreign language, the time and effort of the student are largely wasted. The futility of such courses is especially clear in the case of students inadequately trained in English – who have trouble composing a postcard to mother – and this means the great majority.

For heaven's sake, let's try to do something to equip students in their native language, and means of communication, instead of sidetracking them into a feeble introduction to another language. I am not objecting, of course, to serious, intensive study of a foreign language with the end in view of mastering the language and making use of this equipment in a career in foreign service or elsewhere.

This brings me to the main point. A thoroughgoing course in physics, chemistry, or accounting – to mention only a few possibilities – which opens doors to professional activity and a good living upon graduation, obviously has more genuine cultural value than a superficial attack on a foreign language that leads nowhere.

There is no good reason for labeling an interesting, vigorous, significant subject "noncultural" because it has a vocational aspect. It is not at all difficult to select a four-year program of college courses rich in Kultur, in the best sense, as well as valuable from a professional career standpoint. A course doesn't have to be impractical to be eminently worthwhile.

Breadth of training has some appeal and merit, but breadth that amounts to shallowness, with no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

depth anywhere, is not a suitable goal of educational effort. Jack-of-all-trades but master of none remains a dubious calling.

Student Aptitudes and Attitudes

Today's college students in the mass are less able and less studious than those of fifty years ago. Growth of the view that everybody should go to college, fortified by the widespread and very silly notion that all of us have the same package of native abilities and that all our limitations are of environmental origin, is partly responsible for this condition. Another factor is the softening of precollege training to the point where even the most backward students are pushed along grade by grade at the elementary level and generally don't find it very difficult to obtain a high-school diploma. The result is the flooding of colleges with students lacking the inherent mental equipment to handle staple college subjects effectively, as well as students of ability who have never been called upon to exert themselves scholastically and hence find it difficult to make a decent showing in college. In this situation it becomes increasingly hard to maintain traditional standards, to say nothing of strengthening such standards.

Affected by the watered-down training experienced in precollege school days, and infected more or less with the spreading sentiment to the effect that everyone has a right to share in the pie regardless of contribution or effort, the attitudes of many college students have become very trying to the serious teacher. Indifference to the point of impudence seems to be on the increase in college classrooms. "Here I am, and what are you going to do about it" seems to be implied by the slouchy postures and yawning unshaven faces now confronting instructors in increasing numbers. (The tendency toward indifference, it must be admitted, is often aggravated by a boring, ineffective performance on the part of the instructor.)

A student's attitude, beyond doubt, has an important bearing on his performance and success throughout his school experience. Ability is important, but ability not accompanied by gumption and drive is likely to go to waste. The chap with fair ability who stays in there pitching may do better in the long run than the person with superior talent but lacking in determination and staying power. The teacher may have little spark, and the subject may not be exciting, but usually a bit of juice can be squeezed out of the orange by the reasonably capable student if he really tries.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The squandering of several years in college by persons who will not profit from the experience because of lack of ability or other deficiencies should not be encouraged. Aside from the funds wasted is the resulting serious loss of manpower. There is also the fact that the squandered years may well crystallize the personal deficiencies and decrease the potential of the student when he finally does try to go to work.

Perhaps mention should be made here of the beatniks and troublemakers who are infesting college campuses in increasing numbers these days. On this subject it is my feeling that although cleanliness may not be next to godliness, there is still something to be said for good appearance and deportment. I see no reason for spending a lot of money, furnished by taxpayers or otherwise, to provide facilities for the bums – real or imitation – to strut their stuff. ◈

Reprints available, 3 cents each.

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

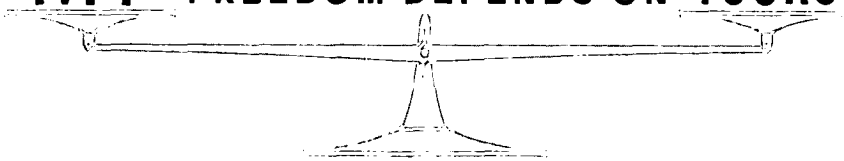
Values in the Classroom

IF A LIST of the most inspiring and influential teachers of the past could be drawn up, it might well show the majority were men who were strongly and even passionately committed to certain values and who communicated these values both in the classroom and outside it. Education is, after all, not a one-sided process aimed exclusively at the communication of facts and the development of skill in correct reasoning. Education of the whole man is also moral, that is, it involves the inculcation of values. To abdicate this responsibility in the name of a spurious scientific objectivity is to create a moral vacuum in the minds and hearts of our youth.

PATRICK M. BOARMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MY FREEDOM DEPENDS ON YOURS



DEAN RUSSELL

MY GRANDFATHER fought for freedom while he continued to own slaves. His concept of freedom permitted him to direct and control the activities of other men. And when he was denied the legal right to take for his own use the fruits of other people's labor, he was honestly convinced that his freedom had been curtailed to some extent.

An absurd concept of freedom? Well, he was no different in this respect from Jefferson, Washington, Patrick Henry, and others of our Founding Fathers. It is true that they had developed a better understanding of freedom than had any political group before them, and I respect them highly for their revolutionary and magnificent concepts of inalienable rights which come from God instead of government. But even so, they still believed that liberty permits some men to use violence to control the actions and to own the production of other men. Our Forefathers believed, of course, that these controls over other men should be permitted only if they were sanctioned by a government based on the democratic or republican processes. But while rejecting the concept of hereditary rulers, they did not entirely reject the "Old World" idea that it is permissible for some persons to use the powers of government to

---

Dr. Russell, long-time member of the staff of the Foundation for Economic Education, now heads the Department of Economics at Artesia College, New Mexico.

This article was previously published as a pamphlet by the Foundation in 1953, but recent manifestations of violence throughout the nation and the world — even by teachers — suggest the need to refer again to the fundamentals of freedom Dr. Russell espouses.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

aid them in controlling the actions and disposing of the production of other persons.

A discredited idea of freedom? Well, that same concept of freedom is still widely held throughout the United States today. The reasons advanced to defend the fact that some men have the authority to control the productive actions of other men have changed. And the modern way of taking and distributing the fruits of other people's labor is seldom called slavery. But the legal right of some men to control the productive activities of other men continues to exist as before. And the present-day tax of more than 80 per cent of some persons' incomes is probably a far greater percentage of their production than was ever withheld from any slave.

Might or Right

Is this present-day taking of other people's production legal? It is. But so was outright slavery once legal! Did that make it right? Let us hope that we Americans never delude ourselves into the belief that *right* is properly determined by a show of hands. For if we do, we are lost.

The extent and type of the legal controls over persons, and the degree of the taking of other people's production, have varied greatly throughout the history of the United States. But the overwhelming majority of the American people have always believed that freedom includes the right of some persons to use the legal authority of government to control the productive efforts and incomes of other persons.

Abraham Lincoln recognized this dilemma in 1864 when he stated: "The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty, but in using the same *word* we do not all mean the same *thing*. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name—liberty."

Both Lincoln and Jefferson Davis announced themselves for freedom. So did Stalin and Hitler. So do you and I and almost everyone else. And I have no reason to doubt that each is sincerely in favor of freedom—*his concept of freedom*.

Just as I hope you will give careful consideration to my ideas on freedom, just so will I be most

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pleased to give careful consideration to yours. For unless there is a common understanding of the meaning of freedom, we will continue to fight each other in its name.

Individual Freedom

It seems to me that much of the confusion over the meaning of liberty and freedom begins with an incomplete or inadequate explanation of what the phrase "individual freedom" really refers to.

While human freedom necessarily concerns the individual, it does so only in the sense that *freedom always refers to a relationship or condition between two or more persons.* While it is necessarily always individuals who understand, practice, and advance freedom, the concept applies only when there is some sort of contact between two or more of them. The *idea* of freedom would be useless to a person isolated forever from any contact with any other person. Contrasted with the ideas of food and shelter – which can be applied to one person alone – the idea of human freedom has no meaning except in society.

Reference to the concept of freedom, then, always applies to a condition or relationship between two or more persons. Just what is that relationship? Certainly it would be nonsensical to describe freedom as a relationship of violence, where some persons are trying to impose their wills upon other persons. Probably the best word to describe that condition is tyranny.

Freedom Defined

Freedom *is a relationship or condition of nonmolestation.* The word "molestation" is here used to include murder, defamation of character, theft, libel, fraud, violence or the threat of violence, or any other act of aggression by one person against another person's life, liberty, good name, or property. And the fact that the molestation may be legal – slavery, restrictions against trade, *compulsory* unionism, and so on – does not deny that freedom is infringed.

Since freedom describes a relationship of nonmolestation *between persons,* it is misleading to speak of freedom as though it applies to one person alone. This is misleading because it is incomplete; because it refers to only part of a necessary relationship; because it tends to obscure the fact that one or more other persons are necessarily involved.

Yet, the idea of freedom is almost always used in the sense that *one individual* can be free and have his freedom, even though he may be exercising legal authority

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

over the productive activities and incomes of others – up to and including complete slavery. That seems to me an unfortunate concept of freedom. But such has always been the popular concept and still is.

Unrestrained Freedom

When I speak of freedom, I mean a condition of *mutual* nonmolestation, with no person molesting any other person. Under that concept, I fully endorse "unrestrained freedom" – a society based on the idea that no one has the right to molest anyone else; a society wherein everyone is legally forbidden to molest anyone else.

Now, I am aware that many millions of persons within our society do not share my faith in the principle of mutual nonmolestation. And there seems little likelihood that the various types and degrees of molestation which now exist will disappear over night. But regardless of what others say or do, it is obvious that those of us who believe in *mutual* nonmolestation must take the first and necessary step toward it by personally following the idea of no molestation against others. There is no other way for freedom to begin except through its practice by individuals who understand what it is.

When Hitler spoke of freedom, he merely meant a condition in which no one molested him. His concept actually *required* that some of the German people molest others of the German people. The only condition that freedom described to Hitler was one wherein he could do as he pleased. To him, freedom was strictly a one-way street.

You shouldn't be surprised at Hitler's concept of freedom. He didn't invent it and he had no monopoly upon it. It was, and is, held almost universally. As stated above, our Forefathers fought and died for freedom. And they were sincere about it. Yet, they did this while they themselves continued to violate freedom by controlling the productive activities and incomes of other persons.

The vast majority of our current state and Federal officials believe sincerely in what they understand as freedom. Yet, so far as I know, few if any of them fully accept the idea of freedom as a reciprocal relationship of nonmolestation among persons. On the contrary, most of them look upon freedom as a condition wherein some persons are *obligated* to molest other persons. The candidates of all political parties in our last elections said they believed sincerely in freedom. Yet almost all of them endorsed specific issues that undeniably molest persons by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forcing some to conform to the viewpoints and ideas of others.

Liberty and License

Our legislators are honorable men. They are sincerely trying to do what they consider to be a necessary and not-always-pleasant job. But I wonder if many of them are not confusing liberty and license.

In order better to understand the reason for this possible confusion, let us consider the following example: A person uses his own honestly acquired money to build a house for $10,000. In the process, he molests no person or group of persons – neither defames them, defrauds them, breaks his voluntary contracts with them, nor uses violence or the threat of violence against them.

Upon completion of the house, the owner decides to offer it for rent. For a reason known only to himself, he sets a rental price of $500 a month. At that price, the house stays vacant – even though there may be many persons who would like to live in the house at a rental price which would pay the owner a four or six or eight per cent return on his investment.

Would not the word "freedom" be the proper term to describe such a condition of nonmolestation wherein no person would be using violence or the threat of violence to impose his will or viewpoint upon any other person? Since no one would be forced to buy and no one would be forced to sell, would that not be freedom?

Most of our governmental officials, backed by the vast majority of the American people, would surely reply to that question somewhat as follows: "No! You have described a condition of license wherein the people would be robbed and exploited or forced to remain in substandard housing, wherein freedom would be destroyed. In order to restore freedom, we would have to molest such unreasonable property owners to make sure they conform to our idea of a proper price."

And so it would go as it almost always has. During the days of NRA, a merchant was accused of license if he sold *below* the government-set price. During the days of OPS, he was accused of license if he sold *above* the government-set price. Under "Fair Trade" laws, he is accused of license if he sells either above or below a price which is approved and enforced by government.

Freedom – a condition of nonmolestation in the market place and everywhere else – is often called license! While license – a condition wherein some persons molest other persons – is all too

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

frequently called freedom! The popular concept of freedom has always described a condition in society wherein some persons use legal violence or the threat of legal violence to compel other persons to conform to their wishes. The degree of molestation has varied from time to time and from government to government. But at no time under any government has the popular concept of freedom ever been used to describe either an actual or potential condition of nonmolestation among persons.

A Mutual Concept

Freedom is destroyed between two persons to whatever extent either one uses violence or the threat of violence to impose his will or viewpoint upon the other. Regardless of who is the aggressor and who is the victim – or whether the violence is legal or illegal – freedom is still infringed.

If you have rendered me helpless by throwing me to the ground and sitting on top of me, everyone understands clearly that my freedom has been severely curtailed. But what is not generally understood is that your freedom is also curtailed as long as you must spend your time and effort to hold me down. You thereby restrict your own progress and improvement just as you do mine.

Freedom is a *reciprocal* relationship based on *voluntary* agreements and actions. This applies in all human relationships, even though they are seldom as clear and dramatic as person-to-person violence. The only real possibility for complete freedom for yourself as an individual is for you to refrain from initiating violence or the threat of violence against anyone else. This is the vital first step toward a condition of mutual nonmolestation – a step that any one of us can take as soon as he is ready.

"But," someone may ask, "since I am holding you down by my own free will, how can it possibly be said that I am thereby interfering with my own freedom? I am doing exactly what I want to do!"

Maybe so. But if the man on top understood the full significance of such a course of action, he would not deliberately follow it or use the word freedom to describe it.

The reality of this thesis that no person can really have complete freedom for himself while he is imposing his will – legally or illegally – upon the creative activities or incomes of others may possibly be more easily understood if approached from another angle.[1]

[1] While examples given herein deal primarily with material prosperity, this is not to say that economic well-being is the most important aspect of freedom. Actually, it is a by-product of something

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If all persons in the world except you were suddenly to die, it is most unlikely that you would live out your normal span of life as you would want to do. That is true because the increased material prosperity resulting from specialization and division of labor has encouraged you to depend upon other persons for the things you want and need – the things you *want* to do. Imagine what would happen to you if you had to build your own house from virgin timber with no axe or saw or nails, raise your own food without hoe or plow or seeds, be your own surgeon without instruments or medicines, construct every item of your own electric system without tools of any kind, and so on and so on. You would soon perish.

If half the people in the United States were suddenly to die, you would, for the same reason, no longer be able to do many of the things you have been doing and wish to continue to do. And although it is difficult to trace directly, the same sort of thing happens when even one productive person dies. This fact is easier to visualize if you think in terms of the "key man" of whatever business you are most interested in.

more important. The examples deal mostly with production because it is generally familiar and appears to be the most restricted freedom of all.

The Result of Controls

Now let us transfer this same idea over to the concepts of controls and slavery instead of death. If the records of history are to be given any value at all, they offer conclusive proof that the slave doesn't produce as much as the person who is working of his own free will. Nor can the slave contribute as much to one's spiritual and mental development as he could if he were released from the physical controls over him.

If all mankind were enslaved or controlled by one person or a small group of persons, literally millions of people would starve to death as a result of the tremendous decrease in production that would automatically follow.[2] The rest would sink slowly back into darkness and savagery. Yet, the people who hold the popular, one-sided concept of freedom will still say that the slave master at least would have his "individual" freedom under those circumstances because no one would be controlling *him!*

It is true that the slave master might be able to confiscate a large share of the available production for himself at the expense of others. But, with the exception of a few brilliant fanatics who honestly believe that slavery is the best pos-

[2] The truth of this fact is proved by both the ancient and modern histories of various European and Asiatic nations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sible form of society, slaves seldom produce literature or printing presses or new methods for increasing production and distributing it more widely. The man whose activities are directed by violence or the threat of violence doesn't ordinarily invent and increase the production of television sets, better surgical instruments and medicines, great sermons and studies in philosophy, and such. The slave master cannot take for his own use and advancement that which has not been invented or produced! He might honestly believe that he himself has complete freedom, but the decreased rate of development—or even the degeneracy—of his moral, mental, social, and physical well-being would offer conclusive proof of the shortcomings of such a concept of freedom.

If only half of all mankind were enslaved, this same thing would happen to the slave master in some proportion. If a person uses violence or the threat of violence—legal or illegal—to control the productive activities or income of even *one person,* he himself will thereby suffer diminishing opportunities for the development of his own potentialities. And most unfortunate of all, his action against freedom also does great harm to many innocent bystanders who desire to live in peace with their fellow men.

Suppose that someone had tried to control the creative activities of an individual like Edison, or Aquinas, or Beethoven, or Shakespeare, or a hundred other producers in various fields that come readily to mind. The opportunities for peaceful pursuit of the things you now do and wish to continue to do—the real meaning of freedom – would have been decreased immeasurably if the activities and incomes of those individuals had been controlled by some outside authority with the power to direct and restrain them completely. Unfortunately, there *were* some controls upon the creative activities and incomes of those persons. Thus it seems reasonably certain that you and I today are missing many opportunities which would have been available to us if those men had enjoyed complete freedom – if they had lived in a society organized according to the idea of mutual nonmolestation.

Future Leaders

The present and future productive leaders of mankind are now being severely controlled, directed, and restricted by governmental authority. And it is being done because most of us honestly but mistakenly believe that freedom *demands* that some men control the creative activities and incomes of other men! The vast majority of the world's people still sincerely be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lieve that they themselves can have complete freedom even though they use violence or the threat of violence to direct the activities and control the incomes of others! They do not accept the idea that freedom is a mutual relationship of nonmolestation among persons.

Now someone may say: "This is all very well in theory, but there is no possible way of measuring what might have been or, in this case, even what might be. I still can't see specifically how I lose any of my freedom merely because some person in this or some other country might be controlled by his own government."

Communist Freedom

Well, let's apply the test to the communist nations of today. Several hundred millions of individual Russians, Chinese, and others are forbidden to trade with you or to visit you or to exchange ideas with you or to worship with you. Our periodicals and newspapers devote much space to the telling of how those persons have lost most of their freedom.

But what has this to do with your freedom? Well, can you visit with those individual Russians and trade with them or exchange ideas with them or worship with them? No, you have lost a great deal of your own freedom even though you may not be aware of it. If any person anywhere in the world is deprived of his freedom to trade or to communicate with you, automatically you thereby lose your freedom of opportunity to trade or to communicate with him. That fact is as undeniable as two plus two equals four.

A Comparison

Legalized violence is already being used to deprive almost half of the world's people of their freedom of opportunity to trade or to worship or to communicate or to visit or to exchange ideas with you. To visualize how this affects your own freedom, just imagine what would happen to you if the other half of the world's people were also deprived of their freedom to have any contact with you. Under those conditions, you would soon die from lack of food or shelter or clothing or medical attention, or from sheer boredom or frustration. Yet, the persons who hold the popular idea that freedom can be applied to one person alone would still say you would remain free because no one would be molesting you! Such a concept of freedom would appear to be the sheerest nonsense.

It is true that we Americans enjoy more freedom—less legal and illegal molestation – than the people of any other nation. But no person in America is completely free as long as violence—under the power

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of government or otherwise—is used to restrict or to control or to direct the activities or income of even one peaceful person. To whatever extent any person is forbidden to trade or to exchange ideas with you, to the same extent you are thereby deprived of the opportunity to trade or to exchange ideas with him.

To repeat, freedom is a relationship of mutual nonmolestation among persons. Yet, the overwhelming majority of the world's people have always thought of freedom as being the legal right of some persons to impose their wills and viewpoints upon other persons. And they still do. Let us examine a few popular examples of this at home and abroad.

Houses and Subsidies

When the Russian government builds houses for some persons at the expense of other persons, it always does it in the good name of freedom. But it cannot logically be called freedom because the process of governmental housing describes a relationship among persons wherein some persons are undeniably molesting other persons against their wills at some point within the process.

When the English government grants subsidies to certain manufacturers or farmers or other favored groups, it claims to be advancing freedom for the English people. Actually, complete freedom ceases to exist among the persons involved when government rewards some persons at the expense of other persons.

It may be alleged that while a subsidy decreases the freedom of the persons from whom the money is taken, surely it doesn't decrease the freedom of the persons who get it. This is the ever-popular "Robin Hood" concept of freedom—a person can be "free" even though he exists by doing violence to others. The person who accepts that idea of freedom can sincerely advocate complete government ownership and control in the name of freedom. And it is worth noting that the advocate of government ownership—whatever the degree—is always happy to specify who shall do the taking, whom it shall be taken from, and who shall be rewarded with the confiscated production.

Controls and Democracy

When the government of Argentina initiates price controls, wage controls, rent controls, tariffs, government-owned hydroelectric projects, and other similar compulsive devices, it claims to be doing these things to preserve freedom. And apparently the vast majority of Argentineans believe it. Yet, in each instance, some persons obviously are using violence or the threat of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

violence to impose their wills upon other persons who believe differently. That process should not be described as freedom. And the fact that the molestation is legal has no bearing upon the fact that freedom has thereby been decreased.

When our own government takes our money from us against our wills and gives it to Tito, Franco, Perón—Germany, Italy, Japan, and other nations—our officials sincerely believe that they are doing it to preserve peace and freedom. Yet, this entire process is based on violence or the threat of violence against our own citizens. In most instances, we are compelled to do what few of us would do with our own resources if we were free to decide for ourselves directly. This is the exact reverse of a condition of nonmolestation among persons. Such a transaction, founded upon violence, should never be called freedom.

It is true that our officials were duly elected by the people. But so were slaveholding officials! Did that fact change slavery into freedom? Directly or indirectly, the American people have the legal right to vote for either a policy of molestation or a policy of nonmolestation. An examination of the record shows quite clearly that the vote is almost always for a program of molestation. The various campaign platforms differ only in the degree of molestation and which group is to be molested and which group is to be in charge of doing the molesting.

Self-Defense

But what about self-defense? Admitting that freedom is decreased between them when one person molests another, what is the innocent victim of the lost freedom to do?

First, the person who fully understands freedom will never knowingly abolish or diminish it. That is, he will never knowingly initiate or advocate any action or law that imposes his ideas or viewpoints upon any other person against that person's will.

Any person who is aware that he is the victim of molestation will always use whatever measures he deems best and most suitable to gain freedom. This is an instinctive reaction; for, obviously, no person wishes to be molested against his will. If he understands freedom, he himself will never knowingly be the aggressor. But whether he understands it or not, he will at least strive for a condition of minimum molestation against himself.

The means he uses to gain this end may be persuasion, argument, prayer, nonresistance, noncooperation, guile, counterviolence, politics, or whatever. Most probably it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will be a combination of several of these and similar measures, depending on circumstances and his understanding of moral principles.

Means to an End

My goal is freedom—a condition of nonmolestation among persons. To the best of my ability, I will strive toward that goal. I will use the means which seem to me to be both morally right and tactically effective.

For example, I would prefer to persuade the would-be murderer to let me live. But if that doesn't work, I believe that I am morally right and tactically correct in using counterviolence to defend myself against him. And that is probably what I will do if the occasion should ever arise.

I believe that I am morally right and tactically correct when I choose to join my fellow men of a like mind in resisting aggression from the gangster at home or the marauding army from abroad—so long as we ourselves don't deny our own principle by using violence or the threat of violence upon our peaceful neighbors who do not choose to join us; so long as we confine our actions to defense against a *direct and unquestionable* threat to our lives, liberty, or property. I believe that this can be accomplished more effectively by voluntary and coordinated group action than by involuntary group action or isolated individual action. I believe that it is morally right and tactically correct to advocate and support a government dedicated to the proposition of preserving freedom—a society wherein no person is permitted to molest any other person; a society wherein every person is legally forbidden to molest any other person. And, of course, I believe it is morally right and tactically correct for society's political agent to use the necessary degree of legal counterviolence required to stop any person from molesting any other person. It seems to me that the sole purpose of government – the social agency of coercion – should be to defend equally all of its citizens against whoever molests them.

A Doubt

Thus do I advocate and support the use of purely *defensive* violence as an integral and necessary means toward the preservation of maximum freedom in a world where many persons are not yet willing to live in peace with their fellow men. But it should be noted that I have no way of knowing with absolute certainty that my endorsement of even defensive violence is the best principle to follow. I now believe it is. But when I study the lives of Christ, Gandhi, and others who seemed to endorse a policy of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

turning the other cheek and of not using violence even for defense, I prefer not to become too dogmatic on the subject. Their moral policies appear to have been quite effective.

Whether or not I am justified in my endorsement of defensive violence, this much is certain: I cannot logically claim to favor freedom when I am *initiating* violence or the threat of violence – legal or illegal–to force any person to conform to my ideas, beliefs, or viewpoints. Thus, come what may, I will never knowingly and deliberately initiate violence against my fellow man. I have too much respect for him (and for myself) to do such a thing.

If what my neighbor is doing with himself and his own property appears wrong or illogical to me, then it would seem certain that what I am doing with myself and my property appears equally wrong or illogical to him. Thus we have the choice between neither one's molesting the other, or fighting it out to determine who shall conform to whom. I choose to follow the course of freedom, to take the first and necessary and logical step toward a relationship of mutual nonmolestation.

An Epilogue: Let Us Not Despair

Here follows what seems to me a most encouraging thought for those among us who despair of liberty.

Freedom will never disappear completely and forever – in Russia or anywhere else. The popular, one-way, "individualistic" concept of freedom will at least serve to prevent that. Since no person wants others to molest *him,* almost every person will rebel against molestation somewhere along the line, even though he may foolishly continue to molest others while he is rebelling against those who are molesting him.

At one time or another, the people of all nations have rebelled against excessive molestation from their own governments. This is as true of the United States as it is of Russia.

These rebellions sometimes bring an increased degree of freedom – that is, a decreased degree of molestation – for a while. Then the rebels, not fully understanding that freedom is a condition of reciprocal nonmolestation, seem inevitably to begin to initiate the same sort of laws against which they themselves rebelled.

They rebel against a tea tax, and then put a tax on tea! They rebel against price controls, tariffs, and other restraints on trade; then they re-establish price controls, tariffs, and the various other restraints on trade! They rebel against the idea of government-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

granted special privileges to certain persons and groups, and then demand special privileges from government for themselves and their particular groups! They rebel against Siberia for political prisoners, and then send political prisoners to Siberia! They rebel against the Bastille, and then put the guillotine in its place!

Even so, the ideas of human freedom which have been loosed throughout the world during the past 500 years are now too strong to be completely lost again. While the trend of the past 50 years has been toward more government and less freedom, there is no reason to assume this will continue forever.

Peace and Freedom Depend on Individual Determination

In order for the highest ideas and ideals of mankind to prevail generally, it seems obvious that a condition of peace and freedom is required – a society wherein no person molests any other person; a society wherein no person prevents any other person from developing his creative potentialities to the fullest extent of his understanding and ability.

This desirable state of affairs will not occur all at once. It will grow only as freedom is understood and as faith in it is restored. If one person decides today to practice freedom, the evolutionary process in human relationships will move forward one more step. That is the only possible path to freedom – a peaceful change in thought and understanding and action among individual persons.

Anyone can begin the practice of freedom whenever he chooses to do so. It is easy, and one need not wait upon other persons to agree before he begins. No committee resolutions or elections or laws are needed for a person to begin the practice of freedom. One need merely resolve not to impose his will – legally or illegally – upon his peaceful fellow men in their religions, their economic theories, their attitudes, their morals, their mores, or whatever. And then start to practice it.

Set an Example

But suppose that "scoundrel next door" takes advantage of your faith in freedom and begins molesting peaceful you? Well, you will discover two things: First, your neighbor is just as convinced that you won't voluntarily "do the right thing" as you are convinced that he won't voluntarily "do the right thing." Second, when your words and your actions have convinced your neighbor that you have no designs upon him or his, he will admire you so much that he will eventually ask you ques-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions to find out how you got that way – and then he is ready to hear out your ideas on freedom. A clear and simple and consistent explanation from you may cause him also to practice freedom – that is, to stop advocating laws to force other people to do what *he* believes they should do.

Might there not be exceptions? Probably so. But it isn't too important. If a person is busily engaged in minding his own business instead of imposing his ideas and viewpoints upon others, he will be pleasantly surprised at the increase in his own spiritual and physical and material well-being. In addition, if he recognizes a moral obligation to be a good neighbor and citizen, this personal practice of freedom would also seem to be the most effective approach to that desirable goal. ◈

A Tale of TWO WORDS

DEAN LIPTON

HOW FUTILE are words among those who do not understand their meaning!

"We all declare for liberty," said Lincoln, "but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing." Nor do we all mean the same thing by our words for those two important aspects of liberty: *rights* and *equality*.

A hundred and thirty odd years ago young Benjamin Disraeli was standing for Parliament. This grandson of a Venetian Jew would one day become Prime Minister of Queen Victoria's England. But that was far in the future, and his immediate task was to defeat a liberal opponent. He told the solid country folk of his constituency: "I prefer the liberties we now enjoy to the liberalism they profess, and find something better than the Rights of Man in the Rights of Englishmen."

There were, of course, many in Disraeli's day as there are today

---

Mr. Lipton of San Francisco has been a newspaperman and Army Historian whose articles have appeared in numerous magazines.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to see in these words a lack of compassion; here was a young man obviously unconcerned with the rights of anyone but an Englishman. Anyone referring in our time to the "rights of Englishmen" (or of Americans) surely would be denounced for negating or downgrading the rights of less-developed peoples of Asia or Africa or South America.

What Disraeli Knew

Now, none of this would be true. To begin with, Disraeli – more than most men – knew the meaning of words. He knew and understood the ideas inherent in the history of his Jewish ancestors and also was well versed in the history and traditions of Anglo-Saxon England. Aside from his political ambitions, he was a writer of brilliant, witty, and incisive political and social novels which explored the foibles, weaknesses, and strengths of the society and politics of the England of his time.

Although Disraeli doubtless would have favored extending the "rights of man" to men everywhere, he knew that this would mean little until all men agreed on what those rights were. To a Zulu chief in Africa, who could order a thousand men to leap over a cliff to demonstrate his power, the phrase would have a meaning not understood by Disraeli's constituents. Nor would it have meant the same thing to a French revolutionary leader like Robespierre or St. Just, who wrote about the "rights of man" with one hand while signing his daily quota of warrants for the execution of "enemies of the state" with the other.

Every dictator or king or emperor professes to rule for the benefit of the people. For instance, "divine right of kings" meant to the people of medieval Europe that the king was ordained by God to protect their rights and thus possessed a divine right to rule. That few kings ever concerned themselves with the rights of their subjects is quite another matter. History, of course, records that the kingly attitude usually ranged from negligence and carelessness to the most callous brutality. Still, the theory was the "rights of man," in a different costume.

All of this, Disraeli knew. So it was natural that he preferred the "Rights of Englishmen" to the "Rights of Man." He was taking nothing away from the savage power of a Zulu chief or a revolutionary leader or an advocate of absolute monarchy or dictatorship. Nothing he could say would influence them. But he knew that the "Rights of Man" was too general and meant too much to mean

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

anything. On the other hand, the "Rights of Englishmen" was a specific term, tied to the history of a single people.

Magna Charta — 1215

What, then, did it mean? To anyone conversant with English history, its meaning was clear. An Englishman's rights had been wrested from King John by the Barons on a memorable June day in 1215 at Runnymede when they forced him to sign the Magna Charta. True, these were rights at first to be granted the nobility versus the crown. Yet, in the ensuing centuries, they were broadened to more nearly encompass all Englishmen.

Even as civilized a nation as France had no history of successful parliamentarian struggle against the ruling monarch. But the England of that day could look back to a Parliament that had revolted against Charles I, demanding the right to tax as the representatives of the people, and insisting that this was the people's right, and not the right of the royal house.

But Disraeli also would have known that while these "Rights" extended to most Englishmen, they by no means extended to all of them; history in its boundless inconsistency had placed certain political restrictions on English Catholics and Jews. Disraeli, whose father was a convert to the Church of England, could avoid those restrictions; but most Jews and Catholics could not. One of Disraeli's historic functions would be to help make these rights uniform, to aid in the fight to apply them to all Englishmen.

In the Name of Equality

Within the category of rights, another word which has rung down the historical corridors is "equality." We are destined in our time to hear much more of it. This word has struck a chord in the imaginations and has been used by all kinds of men from the most admirable to the most vicious. The Chinese Communists proclaimed it as their legions poured through the mountain passes to slaughter peaceful Tibetan villagers. Peaceful men have urged it upon their neighbors, and violent men have shouted it as they squeezed the triggers of scatter guns. Nearly eighty years ago, socialistically-inclined Edward Bellamy wrote about a utopian society of the future in a novel entitled *Looking Backward*. And the word he chose as title for its sequel, written nine years later, was *Equality*.

The meaning of the same word to different men can best be judged by comparing the ideas of two historically important figures:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Virginia aristocrat, Thomas Jefferson, and the French lawyer-turned-revolutionary, Maxmillien de Robespierre. What did "equality" mean to each of them? It was a word they both liked and often used. But a glance at the slogans commonly associated with their names will show that they were talking and writing about two different things.

Thomas Jefferson, a brilliant stylist but not always a clear writer, wrote in the *Declaration of Independence*: "All men are created equal."

The French Revolutionary slogan promoted by Robespierre and his followers was: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

However, Jefferson then went on to point out that all men were created equal in the exercise of certain rights: Life, Liberty, the Pursuit of Happiness. Governments, in his words, were instituted to protect those rights; by implication, that was where government's legitimate function began and ended. Quite obviously, he did not believe that all men were equal. The logic of Jefferson's position was that men were born with differing strengths and weaknesses, and that even in such external conditions as material well-being, some were born luckier than others. Equality, in this sense, is concerned with the rights of people, and not with people per se. They are equal because these rights belong to all men, not just to some of them.

Fraternal Equality Under the Guillotine

The equalitarian concept inherited from the French Revolution—from men like Robespierre – is different in kind as well as degree. This equality is fraternal, and "fraternity" in the trinitarian slogan of the French Revolutionists became a meaningless extra word. It meant what it said: All men are equal. This is meaningless because it is untrue. Men are not equal. Some are born with greater intelligence than others. Some have mechanical aptitudes while others have verbal aptitudes. The simple fact is that the son of a Soviet commissar is born luckier than the son of a Mongolian herdsman.

Now, if anyone had the choice under which system of equality to live, he would do well to consider a fascinating historical contradiction. Contrary to what one might suppose, the lives and liberties of men have been far more secure where their individual inequalities have been admitted and where they were "equal" only insofar as they were subject to the law. Take, for instance, a farmer in Virginia during colonial revolutionary

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

times when Thomas Jefferson was governor of the state and measure his lot against that of a peasant during the time of Robespierre. The farmer may not have been the intellectual equal of Jefferson. He may have lacked many of the material comforts that Jefferson had taken for granted since birth. However, in the exercise of his natural rights, he was Jefferson's equal; and with all of the powers of his office, Jefferson could do nothing to diminish those rights in the slightest degree.

The French peasant was told again and again by the leaders of the state that he was the equal of any man. There were no ranks and no titles. He was plain Citizen Peasant to all who knew him. And Robespierre was plain Citizen Robespierre to everyone from his closest associates down to the least significant man among Paris' huddled masses. But what did this equality mean in practice? Citizen Peasant could be dragged from his home and family, thrown into a crowded cell, charged with a vague and specious crime "against the state," and tried before a peremptory court of zealots. Conviction was almost certain. Execution in barbaric manner was equally certain.

No, men are not equal. Nor do all men mean the same thing when they declare their *equality* and claim their *rights*. For our own understanding of these words, let us hearken to that earlier document, which Jefferson doubtless had in mind. The *Virginia Bill of Rights*, published June 12, 1776, clearly and bluntly says: ". . . all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety." ◈

De-fuse the Bomb

THOSE who are concerned over a population explosion of too many people for the amount of food they will produce, are projecting the present results of our welfare state into the future and are ignoring the limitless potential of free enterprise.

PAUL L. FISHER
Redondo Beach, California

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Third World War

JAMES BURNHAM has been talking sense about the Cold War for two decades and more. As his *The War We Are In: The Last Decade and the Next* (Arlington House, $6.00) proves, he has not always been pessimistic about the chances of the West. This book consists for the most part of selections from his *National Review* column which runs from fortnight to fortnight under the general heading of "The Third World War," but he has added several interpretive essays and a final chapter on "The Decade to Come." Since he views the world struggle as a contest of wills that has yet to be settled, he is not really saying that the West is hell-bent on self-destruction as the title of one of his recent books—*The Suicide of the West*—would seem to imply. If Burnham is always braced against seeing things in a rosy light, he is still optimist enough to know that things may turn out better if you are resolved to go down fighting.

The essential feature of Burnham's thinking is his belief that communist policy, far from being a riddle inside an enigma wrapped in a mystery, is perfectly clear. All true Marxist-Leninists, he says, believe that capitalism is doomed and that it is the duty of communists of whatever persuasion to give the tottering structure of the West a push whenever it is safe to do so. Communists may bicker among themselves, and behave in "polycentric" fashion even to the point of seeming to be nothing more than good nationalists, but communist countries have not yet engaged in such suicidal struggles as brought capitalist Europe to the verge of dissolution in 1914-18 and 1939-45. When the United States, which both Moscow and Peking regard as their prime enemy, finds itself in trouble (as in the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Vietnam), communists of all persuasions form an effective "united front

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from below" to back whatever Leftist faction is fighting us.

Burnham has had his manifold disappointments in the journalistic battle which he continues to wage with unabated dedication. He had hoped that the European Common Market would somehow broaden into an Atlantic World Common Market. He had hoped that the French would find some way of keeping Algeria inside a greater French Republic. He was appalled when Eisenhower and Dulles let the English, the French, and the Israelis down in the first Suez crisis, and predicted, quite rightly, that other Middle Eastern and African troubles would flow from the failure of the West to act as a unit to keep the Mediterranean-Red Sea artery open on its own terms. Looking back on the Bay of Pigs in Cuba and the aborted Hungarian Revolution of 1956, Burnham is haunted by the "might-have-beens." But still he hopes that the tide will be turned, possibly by U.S. fortitude in "holding the pass" in Southeast Asia.

Bumbling Brinkmanship

Burnham is particularly good when he discusses the "evasion formulas" that are forever bemusing western statesmen. In 1917 the West thought that Lenin was too "crackpot" to make his Bolshevik Revolution stick. But the "crackpots" defeated western interventionists and consolidated their rule. In the thirties the Popular Front with the communists was going to keep Hitler from going to war. But the Popular Front somehow ended up by being replaced by the Hitler-Stalin Pact. The rise of Stalin was supposed to betoken the end of Trotsky's theory of the Permanent Revolution. But Stalin's "socialism in one country" did not preclude the success of Mao Tse-tung's revolution in China, or the seizure, by the Red Army, of the Baltic States and the countries that became the "captive nations" of Eastern Europe.

In China they spoke of Mao's "Jeffersonian agrarianism," but Mao eventually blossomed forth as the philosopher of the guerilla encirclement of capitalism via seizure of "rural" Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The Red Chinese "Jeffersonian agrarians" fought us to a standstill in Korea, and are now busy reassuring Ho Chi Minh in North Vietnam that they support him in his refusal to reach any compromise with the "imperialists" short of complete evacuation of South Vietnam by U.S. troops. The communists have even smashed the Monroe Doctrine, gaining immunity for Castro in Cuba in return for their withdrawal of offensive atomic missiles.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This, as Burnham says, is "the record" of the past. As for the future, Burnham is perfectly sure that de Gaulle will never succeed in putting together a "Europe of the fatherlands" stretching from "the Atlantic to the Urals." Such a Europe would inevitably be dominated by the Soviets, who have an atomic arsenal. As for the emergence of a third power in "little Europe," it is blocked by de Gaulle's animus against political integration.

International Policies

Burnham has traveled extensively in Africa and southern Asia, and he has observed that the populations of the underdeveloped countries keep on rising faster than the food supply. He fears that the "Third World" of the old colonial areas must choose between the rival "neo-colonialisms" of the West and the Communist East if they want military security, investment, and technical assistance. As applied to the policies of the West, he does not use the adjective "neo-colonial" in any pejorative sense. He thinks that Africa and Asia will get a better break from the West than from the Communist East for several reasons. First of all, the West is willing to accept the formal independence and autonomy of its old colonies. Secondly, its economic aid is likely to be more efficient, particularly if it is left to free enterprise. Third, its sea and air power is more mobile than any force which the Soviets and the Red Chinese would be able to deploy to protect a country far from Russia or Red China.

Burnham is perfectly willing to agree with George Kennan that the "blocs" have been loosened, that Titoism has resulted in "polycentrism," that the Moscow communists and the Peking communists have split, that the East European countries are straining for freedom from Muscovite leading strings, and that nationalism is the main propelling force in most of the newly emergent "Third World." But, unlike Kennan, he thinks the best way to take advantage of communist troubles is to keep the pressure on. If the Soviets are being assailed from within by their intellectuals, why should we strengthen the hands of the ruling clique that would repress those intellectuals? If Red China is on the verge of chaos, why should we give the Maoist tyrants the endorsement of inviting them into the UN?

"If," says Burnham in a forceful conclusion, "if our experts and policy-makers devoted one-tenth the attention and energy" to exacerbating the struggle between factions within the communist world that they now "lavish on polycentrism and Sino-Soviet di-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

alectics, they might discover levers which, properly handled, could bring down the communist enterprise." Burnham has had a good record of spotting such levers in the past, only to see his advice ignored. The publication of his *The War We Are In: The Last Decade and the Next* is in itself a "lever," provided that it can be gotten into enough hands. ◈

▸ THE RECONSTRUCTION AMENDMENTS' DEBATES, Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Richmond, Virginia, 1967, 764 pp., $4.50 ($3.00 paperbound).

Reviewed by George Charles Roche III.

FROM TIME TO TIME, the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government makes available valuable materials pertinent to the subject of American federalism, states' rights, and related problems. *The Reconstruction Amendments' Debates* is a significant addition to that literature. As the Commission makes clear in its introduction, the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution today provide the basis for approximately one half of the constitutional law litigation reaching the United States Supreme Court. Such matters as school desegregation, legislative reapportionment, voting rights, restrictions on state criminal procedure, and restraints upon the economic self-control of the states fall into this category.

Some 20,000 pages of debates and committee reports serve as the basis for this compilation. The volume is indexed by subject and by legal cases, and also contains a biographical index of House and Senate participants in the debates which led to the Amendments. Every page specifies the session of Congress, the dates and the original page numbers of the *Congressional Globe* from which the material was drawn, as well as the names of the speakers and the topics under discussion.

The Reconstruction Amendments' Debates should have great utility for all libraries as well as for all those whose professions or interest touch upon the relationship between state and national government. An understanding of the original attitudes and opinions of those drafting the legislation, set in its historical perspective, is surely an indispensable aid in understanding the complex intergovernmental problems of our time. Copies may be procured from the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, 1116 Ninth Street Office Building, Richmond, Virginia, 23219. ◈

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FREEMAN — Volume 17, January-December 1967

Prepared by BETTINA BIEN of the Foundation staff

NOTE: In page references, the number preceding the colon designates the month, the number following the colon refers to pages. All articles have at least three entries—author, subject, and title, except in a few cases when title entries seemed repetitive. Books reviewed are listed on page 768.

ADENAUER, Konrad
In memoriam . . . . (Chamberlin) 7:387-393
AGRICULTURE
Can food supply keep pace with population growth? (Brandt) 1:18-23
ALTERNATIVE to compulsion (Barger) 10:605-611
AMBITION/incentive
Person of quality, A (Royal Bank of Canada) 8:481-489
AMERICAN federalism. *See* Roche
ANDERSON, Martin
Federal bulldozer, The. 10:614-626
ANTITRUST
Antitrust and the fear of bigness (Fleming) 6:369-378
Antitrust "humbug" (Fleming) 5:267-275
Purposes of antitrust, The (Fleming) 4:221-230
ARMENTANO, D. T.
Economics of price fixing, The. 6:366-368
ATTRACTION, power of—*See* Voluntarism
AUTO-safety standards (Friedman) 8:507-508
AUTOMATION
Labor union demands mean more inflation (Fertig) 7:430-431

BAIT and the hook, The (Carson) 2:83-91
BANKRUPTCY of "liberalism," The (Carson) 12:707-715
BARGER, Melvin D.
Alternative to compulsion. 10:605-611
Mixed economy mirage, The. 11:697-700
BASIC realities, The (Read) 11:683-687
BASTIAT, Frederic—ideas of
Liberty and law (Wood) 4:206
Plato, your philosopher king has been found! (Read) 9:534ff
BEAUTY and common sense (National Forest Products) 9:528-529
BECAUSE I am an individualist (Wortham) 11:679-682
BENNETT, Mary Jean. *See* Book reviews (Moley)
BIGGERS, W. Watts
Freedom: our dilemma. 3:155-157
BLEIL, Gordon B.
Case of the bulletin board, The. 1:23-24
BÖHM-BAWERK, Eugen
Man who answered Marx, The (Lipton) 10:597-602
BOY who didn't cry "wolf!" The (Copeland) 5:283-284
BRADFORD, Ralph
Contented slavery (excerpt) 5:280
What's going on here? 11:647-655
BRANDT, Karl
Can food supply keep pace with population growth? 1:18-23
BREESE, Edward Y.
Great society, A: home-made, self-operated, and *really* free. 11:656-661
I can be free. 8:490-492
BROZEN, Yale
Rule by markets versus rule by men. 9:515-528
BURCHETT, Randall E.
Voices behind you. 5:314-316
BUREAUCRACY
Bureaucratic blight (Chamberlin) 1:34-41
Mr. Kappel's dilemma (Read) 6:350-355
Organized irresponsibility (Carson) 3:164-174
BUSINESS, social progress, and religion (Moreell) 7:399-413
BUSINESSMAN/entrepreneur, role of
Challenge of business, The (Rose) 3:158-163
Creators of wealth (Smith) 5:298-301
Stand of one's own, A (Warmbier) 8:470-471
BYRON (Lord)
Prisoner of Chillon, The (excerpt) 5:277

CAN food supply keep pace with population growth? (Brandt) 1:18-23
CANADA
Socialism in Saskatchewan (Thatcher) 1:3-9
CARNEY, Patricia
Thank-you note, A. 6:378
CARREL, Alexis — quoted
Plato, your philosopher king has been found! (Read) 9:531ff
CARSON, Clarence B.
Bait and the hook, The. 2:83-91

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bankruptcy of "liberalism," The. 12:707-715
New feudalism, The. 7:432-444
Organized irresponsibility. 3:164-174
CASE of the bulletin board, The (Bleil) 1:23-24
CHALLENGE of business, The (Rose) 3:158-163
CHAMBERLAIN, John. *See* Book reviews
CHAMBERLIN, William Henry
Bureaucratic blight. 1:34-41
Communism after fifty years. 8:463-469
Gap between earning and receiving, The. 4:235-242
In memoriam: Konrad Adenauer. 7:387-393
Men, not money, will overcome poverty. 3:135-140
See also Book reviews (Tavares de Sa)
CHRISTENSEN, N. C.
How leaners lose their freedom. 11:643-646
CIVILIZATION/heritage/tradition
Discipline in life (Royal Bank of Canada) 11:688-696
Principles of progress (Newell) 5:285-291
Rise and the fall, The (Read) 5:292-297
COLESON, Edward P.
Economic development of emerging nations. 5:302-313
Post mortem on the Lister centennial. 8:472-477
COMMUNISM
Communism — American style (Moreell) 9:558-561
Communism after fifty years (Chamberlin) 8:463-469
Fruit of communism: socialistic redistribution (Mahaffy) 9:562-570
COMPETITION
Antitrust and the fear of bigness (Fleming) 6:369-378
Purposes of antitrust, The (Fleming) 4:223ff
War on property, The (Poirot) 10:581ff
COMPULSION/coercion/power
Alternative to compulsion (Barger) 10:606ff
Moral equivalent of power, The (Howard) 4:207-214
Why run ourselves out of business? (Read) 8:453ff
CONSCRIPTION
Youth corps for America? A (Roche) 4:195-202
CONSERVATION
Beauty and common sense (National Forest Products) 9:528-529
CONTRACT, freedom/right of
Prophets, jurists, and property (Palmer) 2:92-108
CONTRACT state, freedom and (Warmbier) 10:591-593
CONTROL of wages and incomes in Britain, The (Winder) 4:231-234
CONTROLLING HCL (Paton) 1:25-31
COPELAND, Helen
Boy who didn't cry "wolf!" The. 5:283-284
CREATORS of wealth (Smith) 5:298-301
CURSE and cure of covetousness, The (Read) 12:716-718
CURTISS, W. M.
Population problem, The. 5:259-264
Taxation theory. 11:674-679

DECISIONS and progress (Evanoff) 10:612-613
DEFENSIVE force vs. compulsion
My freedom depends on yours (Russell) 12:749ff
DeHUSZAR, George B.
Individual liberty and "the humanities." 12:719-723
DEMOCRACY, majority rule
American federalism:3 (Roche) 2:112ff
Power:2 (Roche) 7:420-429
DISCIPLINE in life (Royal Bank of Canada) 11:688-696
DISPENSATION of teaching, The (Marshall) 10:629-633
DOMESTIC inflation versus international solvency (North) 2:67-72
DON'T pamper the rookies (Sparks) 1:9-10

ECONOMIC calculation
Private ownership . . . . a must! (Hazlitt) 6:342-349
ECONOMIC development/progress
Economic development of emerging nations (Coleson) 5:302-313
Great society, A (Breese) 11:656-661
Investing in yourself (Tyson) 4:243-249
ECONOMIC prediction
Right premise—wrong conclusion (Fertig) 1:11-17
ECONOMICS of price fixing, The (Armentano) 6:366-368
EDUCATION, higher
Effect of liberalism on the campus, The (Howard) 10:627-628
University and secondary education, The (Nelson) 12:724-731
What's going on here? (Bradford) 11:647-655
EDUCATION, theory of
Dispensation of teaching, The (Marshall) 10:629-633
Person of quality, A (Royal Bank of Canada) 8:481-489
Some reflections on education (Paton) 12:732-737

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EMINENT domain
Federal bulldozer, The (Anderson) 10:617ff
EPITAPH for a patriot (Morano) 7:394-398
EQUALITY
Equality: the level of mediocrity (Kershner) 6:340-341
Tale of two words, A (Lipton) 12:752-756
ERASMUS, reform, and the remnant (Thornton) 6:356-365
ETERNAL vigilance (anthology) 5:276-283
EVANOFF, Alexander
Decisions and progress. 10:612-613
See also Book reviews (Read)

FALSE remedy, A (Hazlitt) 7:414-415
FAMILY life, parental responsibility
Discipline in life (Royal Bank of Canada) 11:693ff
Don't pamper the rookies (Sparks) 1:9-10
Population problem, The (Curtiss) 5:259-264
FEDERAL bulldozer, The (Anderson) 10:614-626
FEDERAL Trade Commission
Antitrust and the fear of bigness (Fleming) 6:370ff
Purposes of antitrust, The (Fleming) 4:221ff
FEDERALISM vs. nationalism
American federalism:2 (Roche) 1:45-56
FERTIG, Lawrence
Giving a hand to small business. 9:538-540
Labor union demands mean more inflation. 7:430-431
Right premise—wrong conclusion. 1:11-17
FEUDALISM, new. (Carson) 7:432-444
FLEMING, Harold M.
Antitrust and the fear of bigness. 6:369-378
Antitrust "humbug." 5:267-275
Pricing of gasoline, The. 3:175-184
Purposes of antitrust, The. 4:221-230
FOOD and Drug Administration
Controlling HCL (Paton) 1:25-31
FREE enterprise, free market system
Basic realities, The (Read) 11:683-687
Challenge of business, The (Rose) 3:158-163
Plato, your philosopher king has been found! (Read) 9:530-538
Rule by markets versus rule by men (Brozen) 9:515-528
Stand of one's own, A (Warmbier) 8:470-471
FREEDOM
Decisions and progress (Evanoff) 10:612-613
Individual liberty and "the humanities" (deHuszar) 12:719-723
My freedom depends on yours (Russell) 12:738-752
Search for reason, A (Tuccille) 10:634-636
FREEDOM, loss of
Communism—American style (Moreell) 9:558-561
Government by better men (Newell) 3:131-134
Last candle, The (Schreiber) 7:416-419
My freedom depends on yours (Russell) 12:743ff
Power:3 (Roche) 8:493-506
FREEDOM: our dilemma (Biggers) 3:155-157
FREEDOM and the contract state (Warmbier) 10:591-593
FREEDOM of the press
Liberty's decline in Britain (Wilson) 4:218ff
Press and the "people's right to know," The (*Merrill*) 2:108-111
FREEDOM'S theory of value (Read) 10:594-596
FRIEDMAN, Milton
Auto-safety standards. 8:507-508
FRUIT of communism, The (Mahaffy) 9:562-570

GAP between earning and receiving, The (Chamberlin) 4:235-242
GASOLINE, the pricing of (Fleming) 3:175-184
GERMANY
In memoriam: Konrad Adenauer (Chamberlin) 7:387-393
GILLETT, Elizabeth—*See* Book reviews (Rand)
GIVING a hand to small business (Fertig) 9:538-540
GOMPERS, Samuel
Legislated security is bondage (excerpt) 5:279-280
GOVERNMENT by better men (Newell) 3:131-134
GOVERNMENT, role of
Power: 1 (Roche) 6:326-339
Tale of two words, A (Lipton) 12:752-756
GOVERNMENT controls/regulations
Auto-safety standards (Friedman) 8:507-508
Controlling HCL (Paton) 1:25-31
Organized irresponsibility (Carson) 3:164-174
GOVERNMENT (vs. free) enterprise
Is it practical? (Sparks) 8:459-462
See also Post Office
GOVERNMENT interference/intervention
Bait and the hook, The (Carson) 2:83-91
Bankruptcy of "liberalism," The (Carson) 12:707-715

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Freedom and the contract state (Warmbier) 10:591-593
Giving a hand to small business (Fertig) 9:538-540
Mixed economy mirage, The (Barger) 11:697-700
Rule by markets versus rule by men (Brozen) 9:515-528
War on property, The (Poirot) 10:583ff
GOVERNMENT spending
Bureaucratic blight (Chamberlin) 1:37ff
Inflation (Harper) 11:665ff
Taxation theory (Curtiss) 11:674-679
GREAT Britain
Control of wages and incomes in Britain, The (Winder) 4:231-234
Liberty's decline in Britain (Wilson) 4:215-220
Selective employment tax, The (Winder) 3:141-143
Tale of two words, A (Lipton) 12:752-756
GREAT society, A (Breese) 11:656-661

HAMMOND, Richard D.
Miracle? A. 10:603-604
HARPER, F. A.
Inflation. 11:662-673
Liberty (excerpt) 5:280
HAZLITT, Henry
False remedy, A. 7:414-415
How should prices be determined? 2:73-82
Private ownership . . . . a must! 6:342-349
Promise to inflate, A. 5:265-266
World-wide inflation. 9:556-557
See also Book reviews (Watts)
HISTORY
Power:1 (Roche) 6:326-339
Prophets, jurists, and property (Palmer) 2:99ff
Rise and the fall, The (Read) 5:292-297
HORACE
That invaluable jewel, liberty (excerpt) 5:278
HOW leaners lose their freedom (Christensen) 11:643-646
HOW should prices be determined? (Hazlitt) 2:73-82
HOWARD, John A.
Effect of liberalism on the campus, The 10:627-628
Moral equivalent of power, The. 4:207-214

I can be free (Breese) 8:490-492
IDEAS, importance of
Dispensation of teaching, The (Marshall) 10:629-633
Impregnable freedom, The (Sargent) 1:57-59
Post mortem on the Lister centennial (Coleson) 8:475ff
Search for reason, A (Tuccille) 10:634-636
IMPREGNABLE freedom, The (Sargent) 1:57-59
IN memoriam: Konrad Adenauer (Chamberlin) 7:387-393
INDIVIDUAL liberty and "the humanities" (deHuszar) 12:719-723
INDIVIDUAL rights and freedom
Last candle, The (Schreiber) 7:416-419
Principles of progress (Newell) 5:285-291
Tale of two words, A (Lipton) 12:752-756
INDIVIDUALIST, because I am an (Wortham) 11:679-682
INDUSTRIAL Revolution, industrialization
Post mortem on the Lister centennial (Coleson) 8:476ff
INEQUALITY, human variation
Equality: the level of mediocrity (Kershner) 6:340-341
Men, not money, will overcome poverty (Chamberlin) 3:137ff
INFLATION (Harper) 11:662-673
INFLATION, British
Control of wages and incomes in Britain, The (Winder) 4:231-234
INFLATION, U. S.—*See* Money
INVESTING in yourself (Tyson) 4:243-249
IS it practical? (Sparks) 8:459-462
IRRESPONSIBILITY, organized (Carson) 3:164-174

JUNIOR Achievement
Challenge of business, The (Rose) 3:158-163
JUSTICE
Because I am an individualist (Wortham) 11:679-682
Prophets, jurists, and property (Palmer) 2:98ff

KAPPEL, Frederick (A T & T)
Mr. Kappel's dilemma (Read) 6:350-355
KERSHNER, Howard E.
Equality: the level of mediocrity. 6:340-341
KEYNES, John Maynard—ideas of
Domestic inflation versus international solvency (North) 2:68ff
Economic development of emerging nations (Coleson) 5:311ff
False remedy, A (Hazlitt) 7:414-415

LABOR/wages/unions
False remedy, A (Hazlitt) 7:414-415
Labor union demands mean more inflation (Fertig) 7:430-431
LAST candle, The (Schreiber) 7:416-419
LET's *not* worry about the world (Thornton) 1:42-44

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LIBERALISM, modern
Bankruptcy of "liberalism," The (Carson) 12:707-715
Effect of liberalism on the campus, The (Howard) 10:627-628
LIBERTY and law (Wood) 4:203-206
LIBERTY'S decline in Britain (Wilson) 4:215-220
LIPTON, Dean
Man who answered Marx, The. 10:597-602
Tale of two words, A. 12:752-756
LISTER (Joseph) centennial, post mortem (Coleson) 8:472ff

MAHAFFY, Francis E.
Fruit of communism, The: socialistic redistribution. 9:562-570
MARSHALL, Max S.
Dispensation of teaching, The. 10:629-633
MARX (Karl) the man who answered (Lipton) 10:597-602
MEDICAL care/treatment
Bureaucratic blight (Chamberlin) 1:39ff
Post mortem on the Lister centennial (Coleson) 8:472ff
Socialism in Saskatchewan (Thatcher) 1:5
MEN, not money, will overcome poverty (Chamberlin) 3:135-140
MERRILL, John C.
Press and the "people's right to know," The. 2:108-111
MILL, John Stuart — ideas of
Freedom and the contract state (Warmbier) 10:591-593
MIRACLE? A (Hammond) 10:603-604
MIXED economy mirage, The (Barger) 11:697-700
MONEY, monetary policy
Domestic inflation versus international solvency (North) 2:67-72
False remedy, A (Hazlitt) 7:414-415
Inflation (Harper) 11:662-673
Labor union demands mean more inflation (Fertig) 7:430-431
Promise to inflate, A (Hazlitt) 5:265-266
Right premise — wrong conclusion (Fertig) 1:11-17
World-wide inflation (Hazlitt) 9:556-557
MONOPOLY/oligopoly
How should prices be determined? (Hazlitt) 2:78ff
Review of Galbraith's *The new industrial state* (Chamberlain) 11:702ff
See also Antitrust; Competition
MORAL equivalent of power, The (Howard) 4:207-214
MORALITY/ethics/religious principles
American federalism:4 (Roche) 3:144-154
Basic realities, The (Read) 11:683-687
Business, social progress, and religion (Moreell) 7:399-413
Erasmus, reform, and the remnant (Thornton) 6:356-365
Power:4 (Roche) 9:541-555
Principles of progress (Newell) 5:285-291
Why run ourselves out of business? (Read) 8:451-458
MORANO, Jack
Epitaph for a patriot. 7:394-398
MOREELL, Ben
Business, social progress, and religion. 7:399-413
Communism — American style. 9:558-561
MY freedom depends on yours (Russell) 12:738-752

NANTUCKET, Quaker settlement
Great society, A (Breese) 11:656-661
NATIONAL Forest Products
Beauty and common sense. 9:528-529
NATURAL law/order/justice
Discipline in life (Royal Bank of Canada) 11:688-696
Plato, your philosopher king has been found! (Read) 9:530-538
Power:1 (Roche) 6:327ff
NEGROES, rights and riots
Because I am an individualist (Wortham) 11:679-682
Federal bulldozer, The (Anderson) 10:618 & 624
War on property, The (Poirot) 10:587ff
NELSON, John O.
University and secondary education, The. 12:724-731
NEW economics on display, The (Read) 1:32-33
NEW feudalism, The (Carson) 7:432-444
NEWELL, Robert K.
Government by better men. 3:131-134
Principles of progress. 5:285-291
NORTH, Gary
Domestic inflation versus international solvency. 2:67-72
See also Book reviews (Nisbet)

OCCUPATIONAL/professional guidance
University and secondary education, The (Nelson) 12:724-731
ORGANIZED irresponsibility (Carson) 3:164-174

PALMER, William J.
Prophets, jurists, and property. 2:92-108
PATON, W. A.
Controlling HCL. 1:25-31
Some reflections on education. 12:732-737
PATRIOT, epitaph for (Morano) 7:394-398

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSON of quality, A (Royal Bank of Canada) 8:481-489
PLATO, your philosopher king has been found! (Read) 9:530-538
POIROT, Paul L.
Security with a vengeance. 6:323-325
War on property, The. 10:579-590
POLITICAL power
American federalism:3 (Roche) 2:112-124
Bait and the hook, The (Carson) 2:83-91
Government by better men (Newell) 3:131-134
POPULATION and production
Can food supply keep pace with population growth? (Brandt) 1:18-23
Economic development of emerging nations (Coleson) 5:302-313
Population problem, The (Curtiss) 5:259-264
POST mortem on the Lister centennial (Coleson) 8:472-477
POST Office, U. S.
Mr. Kappel's dilemma (Read) 6:350-355
New economics on display, The (Read) 1:32-33
"POVERTY" and government action
How leaners lose their freedom (Christensen) 11:643-646
Men, not money, will overcome poverty (Chamberlin) 3:135-140
War on property, The (Poirot) 10:579-590
POVERTY of what? (Thompson) 8:478-480
POWER — *See* Roche
PRESS and the "people's right to know," The (Merrill) 2:108-111
PRICES/pricing
Economics of price fixing, The (Armentano) 6:366-368
How should prices be determined? (Hazlitt) 2:73-82
Inflation (Harper) 11:668ff
Pricing of gasoline, The (Fleming) 3:175-184
Private ownership . . . . a must! (Hazlitt) 6:342-349
Rule by markets versus rule by men (Brozen) 9:515-528
Why run ourselves out of business? (Read) 8:451-458
PRINCIPLES of progress (Newell) 5:285-291
PRIVATE ownership . . . . a must! (Hazlitt) 6:342-349
PROMISE to inflate, A (Hazlitt) 5:265-266
PROPERTY, ownership and distribution
Fruit of communism, The (Mahaffy) 9:562-570
Private ownership . . . . a must! (Hazlitt) 6:348ff
Prophets, jurists, and property (Palmer) 2:92-108
War on property, The (Poirot) 10:579-590
PROPHETS, jurists, and property (Palmer) 2:92-108
PUBLIC interest/sector
Federal bulldozer, The (Anderson) 10:616ff
War on property, The (Poirot) 10:584ff
PURPOSES of antitrust, The (Fleming) 4:221-230

READ, Leonard E.
Basic realities, The. 11:683-687
Curse and cure of covetousness, The. 12:716-718
Freedom's theory of value. 10:594-596
Mr. Kappel's dilemma. 6:350-355
New economics on display, The. 1:32-33
Plato, your philosopher king has been found! 9:530-538
Rise and the fall, The. 5:292-297
Why is slavery possible? 5:281-283
Why run ourselves out of business? 8:451-458
REAM, Norman S.
See Book reviews (Howard)
REMNANT, Erasmus, reform and the (Thornton) 6:362ff
RESPONSIBILITY, individual
Don't pamper the rookies (Sparks) 1:9-10
Government by better men (Newell) 3:131-134
Great society, A (Breese) 11:656-661
How leaners lose their freedom (Christensen) 11:643-646
I can be free (Breese) 8:490-492
Poverty of what? (Thompson) 8:478-480
Why run ourselves out of business? (Read) 8:451-458
RIGHT premise—wrong conclusion (Fertig) 1:11-17
RISE and the fall, The (Read) 5:292-297
ROCHE, George Charles, III
American federalism
(2) History, 1:45-56
(3) Erosion, 2:112-124
(4) Future, 3:144-154
Power
(1) History, 6:326-339
(2) Some modern manifestations, 7:420-429
(3) Social effects, 8:493-506
(4) Prospects, 9:541-555
Youth corps for America? A. 4:195-202
See also Book reviews (Coleson; Crane; Martin; Virginia Commission)
ROSE, Tom
Challenge of business, The. 3:158-163

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROYAL Bank of Canada
Discipline in life. 11:688-696
Person of quality, A. 8:481-489
RULE by markets versus rule by men (Brozen) 9:515-528
RUSSELL, Dean
My freedom depends on yours. 12:738-752
RUSSIA
Communism after fifty years (Chamberlin) 8:463-469
Private ownership . . . . a must! (Hazlitt) 6:342-349
RUTLEDGE, Archibald
Security may betray us (excerpt) 5:278-279

SAFETY measures/standards
Auto-safety standards (Friedman) 8:507-508
Security with a vengeance (Poirot) 6:323-325
SARGENT, *Lois H.*
Impregnable freedom, The. 1:57-59
SAVINGS and investment
Creators of wealth (Smith) 5:298-301
Investing in yourself (Tyson) 4:243-249
Security with a vengeance (Poirot) 6:323-325
SCHREIBER, Jack
Last candle, The. 7:416-419
SEARCH for reason, A (Tuccille) 10:634-636
SECURITY, government-guaranteed
Eternal vigilance (an anthology) 5:276-283
Security with a vengeance (Poirot) 6:323-325
SELECTIVE employment tax, The (Winder) 3:141-143
SELF-discipline
Discipline in life (Royal Bank of Canada) 11:688-696
Let's *not* worry about the world (Thornton) 1:42-44
SELF-improvement
Curse and cure of covetousness, The (Read) 12:716-718
Decisions and progress (Evanoff) 10:612-613
Erasmus, reform, and the remnant (*Thornton*) 6:356-365
Freedom: our dilemma (Biggers) 3:155-157
Person of quality, A (Royal Bank of Canada) 8:481-489
Poverty of what? (Thompson) 8:478-480
Voices behind you (Burchett) 5:314-316
SMALL business, giving a hand to (Fertig) 9:538-540
SMITH, Harry Lee
Creators of wealth. 5:298-301
SOCIAL Security
War on property, The (Poirot) 10:584ff
SOCIALISM in Saskatchewan (Thatcher) 1:3-9
SOCIALISTIC redistribution, fruit of communism (Mahaffy) 9:562-570
SOCIALISTIC trend, U. S.
American federalism:3 (Roche) 2:112-124
Bankruptcy of "liberalism," The (Carson) 12:707-715
Freedom and the contract state (Warmbier) 10:591-593
Gap between earning and receiving, The (Chamberlin) 4:235-242
Mixed economy mirage, The (Barger) 11:697-700
Principles of progress (Newell) 5:285-291
SOME reflections on education (Paton) 12:732-737
SPARKS, John C.
Don't pamper the rookies. 1:9-10
Is it practical? 8:459-462
STAND of one's own, A (Warmbier) 8:470-471
STANDARD Oil Company
Antitrust and the fear of bigness (Fleming) 6:373ff

TALE of two words, A (Lipton) 12:752-756
TAXES/taxation
Gap between earning and receiving (Chamberlin) 4:235-242
Taxation theory (Curtiss) 11:674-679
TEACHING, the dispensation of (Marshall) 10:629-633
THANK-you note, A (Carney) 6:378
THATCHER, W. Ross
Socialism in Saskatchewan. 1:3-9
THOMPSON, Donna
Poverty of what? 8:478-480
THORNTON, Robert M.
Erasmus, reform, and the remnant. 6:356-365
Let's *not* worry about the world. 1:42-44
See also Book reviews (Rossiter)
TOTALITARIANISM, centralized power
Plato, your philosopher king has been found! (Read) 9:530-538
See also Roche, *Power*
TUCCILLE, Jerome
Search for Reason, A. 10:634-636
TYSON, Robert C.
Investing in yourself. 4:243-249

U. S. CONSTITUTION, principles of
Business, social progress, and religion (Moreell) 7:399-413
See also Roche, *American federalism*
U. S. SUPREME Court
Review of Bozell's *The Warren revolution* (Chamberlain) 7:445-448
See also Antitrust

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UNIVERSITY and secondary education, The (Nelson) 12:724-731
URBAN renewal
Federal bulldozer, The (Anderson) 10:614-626
War on property, The (Poirot) 10:585ff

VALUE, value theory
Freedom's theory of value (Read) 10:594-596
Man who answered Marx, The (Lipton) 10:597-602
VOICES behind you (Burchett) 5:314-316
VOLUNTARISM/attraction vs. compulsion
Alternative to compulsion (Barger) 10:605-611
Case of the bulletin board, The (Bleil) 1:23-24
Liberty and law (Wood) 4:203-206
Miracle? A (Hammond) 10:603-604

WAR on property, The (Poirot) 10:579-590
WARMBIER, Donald
Freedom and the contract state. 10:591-593
Stand of one's own, A. 8:470-471
WELFARE state
How leaners lose their freedom (Christensen) 11:643-646
Socialism in Saskatchewan (Thatcher) 1:3-9
See also "Poverty;" Security; etc.
WHAT's going on here? (Bradford) 11:647-655
WHY run ourselves out of business? (Read) 8:451-458
WILSON, Granville
Liberty's decline in Britain. 4:215-220
WINDER, George
Control of wages and incomes in Britain, The. 4:231-234
Selective employment tax, The. 3:141-143
WOOD, Keith
Liberty and law. 4:203-206
WORLD-wide inflation (Hazlitt) 9:556-557
WORTHAM, Anne
Because I am an individualist. 11:679-682

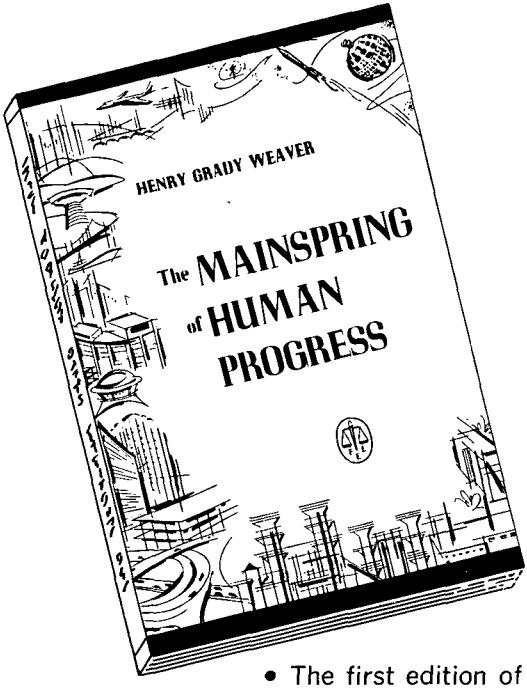
YOUTH corps for America? A (Roche) 4:195-202

BOOK REVIEWS

(Reviewer's name in parentheses)

ALEXANDER, Holmes. *The spirt of '76* (Chamberlain) 4:250-253
ANDERSON, Martin. *The Federal bulldozer* (excerpt from 1967 preface) 10:614-626
BAHAMAS HANDBOOK: 1966-1967 (Chamberlain) 5:317-320
BOZELL, L. Brent. *The Warren revolution* (Chamberlain) 7:445-448
BUCKLEY, William F. *The unmaking of a mayor* (Chamberlain) 2:125-128
BURNHAM, James.
The war we are in: the last decade and the next (Chamberlain) 12:757-760
COLESON, Edward P. *Our western heritage* and *The scriptural standard in economics and government* (Roche) 3:191-192
CRANE, Phillip M. *The democrat's dilemma* (Roche) 2:128
DRURY, Allen. *Capable of honor* (Chamberlain) 4:250-253
EVANS, M. Stanton. *The politics of surrender* (Chamberlain) 1:60-63
GALBRAITH, John Kenneth. *The new industrial state* (Chamberlain) 11:701-704
GELLHORN, Walter. *When Americans complain: governmental grievance procedures* (Chamberlain) 3:185-188
HAZLITT, Henry. *Time will run back* (excerpt from the 1966 preface) 6:342-349
HOWARD, Irving E. *The Christian alternative to socialism* (Ream) 3:190-191
JEWKES, John. *Public and private enterprise* (Chamberlain) 8:509-512
MARTIN, Rose L. *Fabian freeway* (Roche) 2:128
MOLEY, Raymond, with Elliot A. Rosen. *The first new deal* (Bennett) 4:255-256 and (Chamberlain) 6:379-382
NISBET, Robert A. *The sociological tradition* (North) 9:574-576
PETRO, Sylvester. *The Kingsport strike* (Chamberlain) 9:571-574
RAND, Ayn, with Alan Greenspan, Nathaniel Branden and Robert Hessen. *Capitalism: the unknown ideal* (Gillett) 3:189-190
READ, Leonard E. *Deeper than you think* (Evanoff) 6:382-384
ROSSITER, Clinton. *1787: the grand convention* (Thornton) 1:63-64
TAVARES DE SA, Hernane. *The play within the play: the inside story of the U. N.* (Chamberlin) 4:253-255
VIRGINIA Commission on Constitutional government. *The Reconstruction Amendments' Debates* (Roche) 12:760
WATTS, V. Orval, ed. *Free markets or famine* (Hazlitt) 9:576
WILLIAMS, Whiting. *America's mainspring and the great society* (Chamberlain) 10:637-640

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



NOW AVAILABLE

in a new, attractive, low-priced paperback:

Single copy	**$ .95**
3 copies	**2.00**
10 copies	**6.00**
100 copies	**45.00**

Also available in standard clothbound volume, $2.50

• The first edition of MAINSPRING (279 pp., indexed) was published in 1947. Since Mr. Weaver's passing, this great book has been the property of FEE. Previous to this new paperback edition, 350,000 copies have been printed.

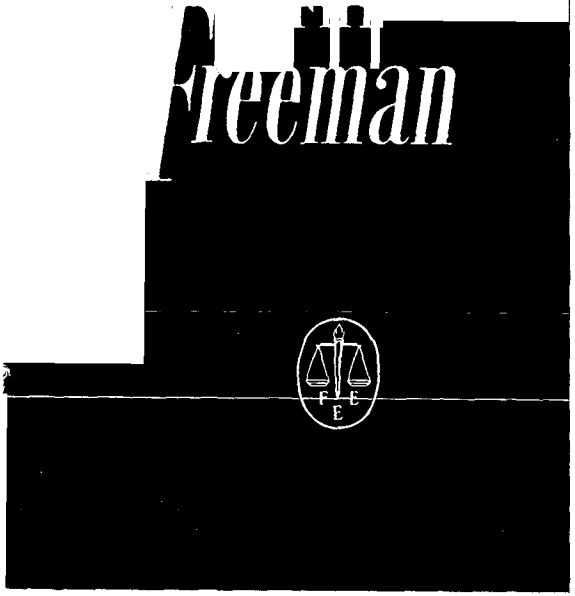
One large company's circulating library for employees required 150 volumes to meet the demand.

Based on FEE's experience, MAINSPRING tops all books as a starter for any aspiring student of liberty. Easy reading — indeed, exciting — the beginner becomes so interested in freedom that he can hardly help pursuing the subject further.

FEE's recommendation: Keep a good supply of the paperbacks on hand to present to any individual who shows a spark of interest in freedom.

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, INC.
IRVINGTON-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK, 10533

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE FREEMAN may be forwarded anywhere in the U. S. A. No wrapper required.

From:

EXCHANGEABILITY

■ Purchasing power is not a "lump" or quantity of anything, but a relationship. Its essence consists in having something to exchange, under conditions that make exchange possible . . . One's purchasing power is the amount of **exchangeability** he can develop with reference to himself or anything he possesses. Perhaps we could say still more accurately that purchasing power is exchangeability—when we speak of the amount, we are raising the question of measurement. . . . **Maximum exchangeability** means **maximum purchasing power**; and disrupted exchangeability means **disrupted purchasing power.**

HERBERT D. SIMPSON
Purchasing Power and Prosperity

Place 6-cent postage here

TO: _____

street _____

city _____ state _____ zip code _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED